HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Dramatic 'Peace' Move

Humphrey Considers Flight to Paris

By PAUL SCOTT

Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey is considering a spectacular new Viet Nam peace move to pump new life in his lagging presidential campaign.

In recent talks with his political and foreign policy strategists, Humphrey discussed the feasibility of making a dramatic flight to Paris next month to confer with North Vietnamese representatives on the Viet Nam war negotiations.

Objective of the Paris trip would be for Humphrey to personally determine if an immediate cease-fire would be arranged in exchange for a complete bombing halt.

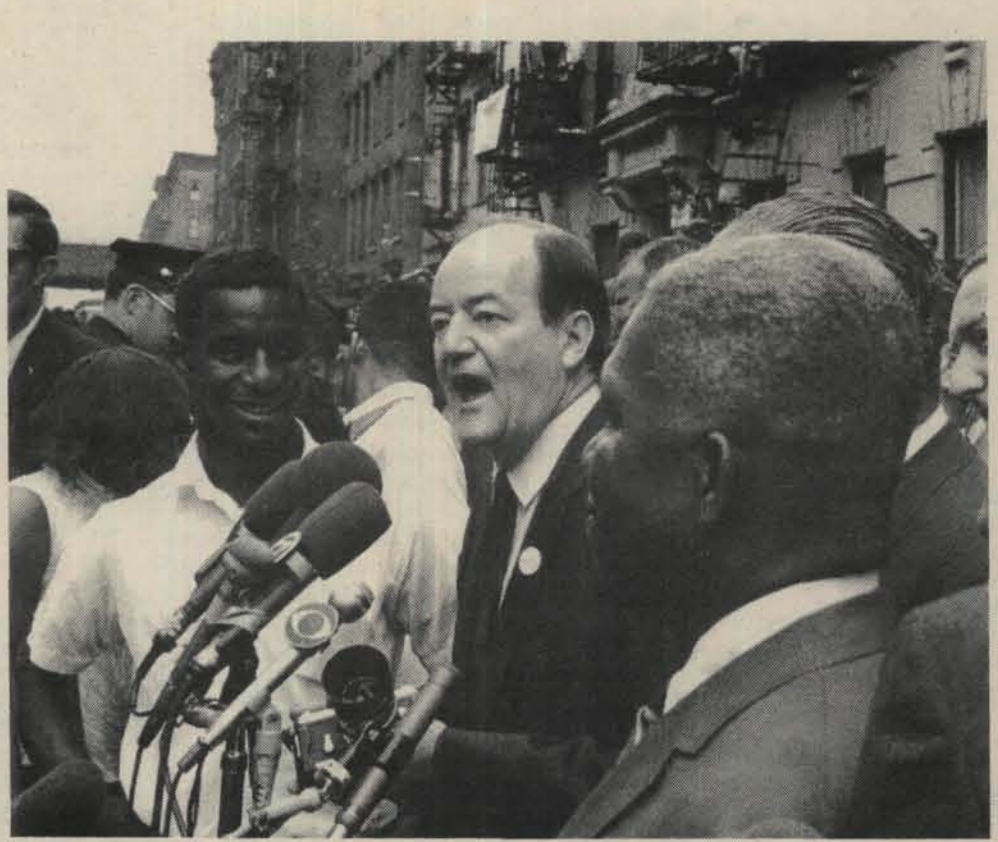
If Humphrey discovered there was a chance of making such an arrangement with Hanoi, the vice president would then appeal directly to President Johnson to halt the bombing of North Viet Nam while details were negotiated.

While several of Humphrey's advisers have cautioned him that the chances for such a peace mission succeeding are too risky for him to interrupt his campaign, the majority have taken the position that regardless of the outcome the trip couldn't hurt him politically.

If he found there was no hope of negotiating such an arrangement, the pro-trip aides argued, Humphrey could return and make a frank public announcement of his findings.

"The vice president could do just what former President Truman recently advised him to do," stated a Humphrey aide. "He could tell the American people the truth about the negotiations and then adjust his Viet Nam policy accordingly. Frankness like that wouldn't hurt the vice president."

At this writing Humphrey reportedly has made no final decision on the Paris trip or won't until he has a chance to fully explore the idea with President Johnson. This meeting is expected to take place at any time.



Vice President Humphrey campaigns in New York City's Spanish Harlem. But to *shore up his lagging campaign, the Veep may opt for a headline-grabbing "peace trip" to Paris, hoping that in the interim LBJ will stop the bombing of North Viet Nam.*

Significantly, Ambassador Averell Harriman, U.S. chief negotiator in Paris, has privately put his stamp of approval on Humphrey's proposed peace mission.

In an unannounced meeting here when Harriman visited Washington last week for new instructions, the President's special peace negotiator told Humphrey he had no objection to his trip. While he doubted the peace effort would bring any results, Harriman took the position it wouldn't hinder present negotiations. He told Humphrey that there has been no real progress in the talks since they began last May.

Since the Harriman meeting, Humphrey in talks with congressional supporters has privately speculated that there is still a chance President Johnson might stop the bombing of North Viet Nam between now and election.

Although he made no mention of his proposed trip, Humphrey suggested to the legislators that there was the possibility of a new peace move at Paris which might bring about a cease-fire.

★ ★ ★

A little-noticed incident involving the arrest of a French citizen on espionage charges in Bulgaria is being carefully watched by U.S. intelligence authorities for its wider international implications.

The man, Ernest Foscolo, was seized in Sofia by the Bulgarian police on a trumped-up charge of spying and inciting Bulgarian "reactionaries" to revolt.

The arrest came within a month after the KGB, the Soviet Secret Police, and the GRU, the Soviet Military Intelligence Service, received orders to "discover" and "arrest" in cooperation with Soviet bloc intelligence services as many American, French and British spies as they could.

According to a Soviet document intercepted by U.S. intelligence authorities, the objective of the large-scale "spy" crackdown is to bolster the propaganda theme of "Western subversion" against Communist countries in Eastern Europe.

The fact that these instructions were issued simultaneously to both Soviet espionage organizations shows that this was the result of a decision by the Russian politburo, and a major policy move of Soviet leaders.

If more arrests follow, U.S. intelligence officials believe, they could signal an ominous Russian attempt to build up a case that an overall Western plot exists against Soviet bloc nations in order to station additional Soviet troops in those countries.

Already there are reports out of Sofia that the Foscolo trial will be used to provide the "alibi" for sending new Soviet troops to Bulgaria.

Western journalists seeking special news contacts in Eastern Europe, Western artists and intellectuals visiting Communist countries, are being warned that they are prime targets in the new spy hunt.

The Negro Case Against the Labor Unions

Page 12

A Columbia Student Views the New Disorders

Page 9

Long-Time Radical Leads Michigan Democrats

Page 10

NEWSPAPER

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Contents

Politics '68.....5
Unclogging the Skies—By William D. Grampp.....6
Races of the Week.....8
Columbia: Target for New Disorders—By Frederick K. Lowell.....9
Does Warren Think Fortas Cause Lost?—From the Allen-Goldsmith Report.....9
The Radical Background of Michigan's New Democratic National Committeeman.....10
Will USSR Again Have to Crush Hungary?—By Henry J. Taylor.....11
Federal Poverty Officials Use Working Time to Discredit U.S.—By Victor Riesel.....12
The Negro Case Against the Labor Unions—By John Chamberlain...12
Douglas Seems Determined to Kill the Draft—By Jerry Greene.....13
Educational Jargon Keeps Rolling Along—By Dr. Max Rafferty.....14
How the NLRB Has Flouted the Will of Congress—From the Arizona Republic.....14
Spotlight on Congress.....15

Capital Briefs

● Humphrey supporters are hopping mad at Small Business Administrator **Howard Samuels**, an LBJ appointee. Addressing a meeting of private business representatives in Washington recently, Samuels declared: "Well, I just came back from California and I can assure you Richard Nixon will be the next President of the United States."

● Chalk up another blow for "law and order" by New York Mayor John Lindsay. Lindsay's **Youth Services Agency** recently granted $120,000 to the Free Store at 12 Cooper Square in New York City. The Free Store's purpose: to give free clothes, food and lodging to "alienated youngsters." Aside from parading pictures of such alienated idols as Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, the Free Store has Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman as a $150-a-week consultant. Hoffman, whose Yippies recently battled Chicago police, has joined with Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis to bring the "spirit of Chicago into every corner of the country."

● Sen. **Strom Thurmond** (R.-S.C.), who helped corral the votes needed to put Richard Nixon over the top at the GOP convention in Miami, is now going all-out to put Nixon over the top in South Carolina and other Southern states. Aiding the staunchly conservative Republican senator are Gen. Mark W. Clark (U.S.A., Ret.), chairman of the Nixon-for-President Committee in South Carolina, and former New York Yankee second baseman Bobby Richardson, chairman of the Thurmond Speaks Committee (for more on these developments, see page 5).

● The head of Sen. Eugene McCarthy's pre-convention campaign in Houston, Tex., Dr. Jean-Claude de Bremaecker, has announced his support of GOP presidential candidate Richard Nixon and has advised other **former McCarthy backers** to do likewise. Dr. de Bremaecker, saying he thought Nixon would do the best job of wrapping up the Viet Nam war, advised his followers not to support a "fourth party" peace candidate or to refuse to vote in November; "that's not a very responsible thing," he remarked.

● The presidential campaign is beginning to heat up. Portly **Pierre Salinger**, who rode to national prominence on the coattails of the Kennedys, has declared that Nixon is only a "white-gloved" Wallace. Humphrey partisan Charles E. Moylan Jr., Baltimore City state's attorney, has charged that the Nixon-Agnew team is using the "law and order" issue in much the way Hitler led people to believe that "storm trooper tactics" can rid all society of its ills. The liberal press which hit Agnew hard for calling Humphrey "soft on communism" has yet to protest this piece of Democratic viciousness.

● Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. **Arthur W. Radford** (Ret.), has urged Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark to begin prosecuting persons who "spread anti-war propaganda among American troops," a favorite tactic of the New Left. The Justice Department, which in the past has shown little desire to undertake such proceedings, said it would have "no comment" on Radford's plea.

● Polish-Americans seem hardly disturbed that Spiro T. Agnew once used the term "**Polack,**" a reference to the Polish people which Democratic partisans have said was "degrading." Agnew, in fact, has just been invited to the annual Pulaski Day Parade in New York which over 100,000 Polish-Americans are expected to attend.

● The Justice Department might be preparing a crackdown on the giant **Seafarers International Union**, AFL-CIO, for its devious methods of raising money for political contributions. According to reliable reports, FBI agents have already begun looking into the books of the Seafarers Political Activity Donation Committee and are trying to decide whether union members have contributed funds to the committee voluntarily. The politically active union has already contributed over $500,000 to candidates this year.

● Sen. **Everett Dirksen** (R.-Ill.), who was all for the Fortas appointment when LBJ announced it, has indicated to colleagues and friends he is not so happy with that decision at the present time.

● Walter Reuther's renegade **Alliance for Labor Action** appears ready to pick up another member from among the ranks of the AFL-CIO, from which the UAW boss was expelled last March. At a recent convention, officials of the large United Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO, promised they were taking "a long look" towards possible affiliation with the Reuther alliance. The AFL-CIO Executive Council has said that any of the federation's member-unions who do join Reuther are liable for expulsion.

● Hubert Humphrey's campaign managers have reportedly appealed to the federal government for a **Head Start loan**.

● A Washington Post editorial September 21 commented: "Mr. Nixon pretends to see evidence of collusion between the Humphrey and Wallace organizations to deny him votes in the South. No one is likely to be deceived by such nonsense." Two who were so deceived, however, were the Post's very own columnists, Evans and Novak, who first reported the **Humphrey-Wallace "collusion."**

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Wallace's Revealing Interviews

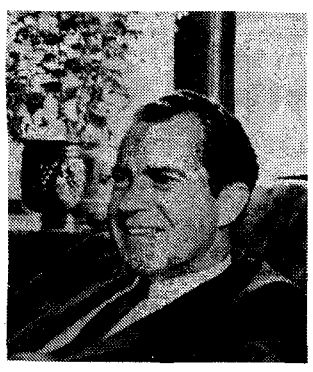
George Wallace's third-party candidacy may have received a setback as a result of recent interviews given to both the New York *Times* and *U.S. News & World Report*. For some time, note politicos, supporters of Wallace have claimed the ex-Alabama governor offers a far more conservative program than either the Republican or Democratic presidential candidates. But the Wallace interviews, coupled with recent Wallace statements to reporters, reveal that the Alabamian's announced positions are actually not much different from those of Nixon's—and, in fact, sometimes lean toward positions taken by Hubert Humphrey.

Consider, for example, Wallace's view on spending. In the September 30 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* Wallace was less than doctrinaire conservative on the issue of dispensing federal funds. "I'm not against spending," he stressed at one point. While he said he believes in the theory of a balanced budget, he also stated that "sometimes you may have to have an unbalanced budget in the sense of doing things that ought to be done." Wallace even states that he would unbalance the budget for the purpose of building highways. In outlining his spending philosophy, he would appear to take a position not much different from that of Nixon, who also believes that budgets must sometimes be unbalanced. (Wallace's position, however, is more conservative than that of Humphrey's, since Humphrey has never seemed to care about balanced budgets under any conditions.)

Regarding his views on labor, Wallace suggests he wants to increase the power of unions. In an interview in the September 26 New York *Times*, which Wallace was allowed to edit and correct before it was printed, the ex-Alabama governor said he believed that public employes—policemen, firemen, sanitation workers and teachers—should be permitted to organize unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. He also stressed that he was definitely opposed to state legislatures abolishing compulsory unionism. On this issue, Wallace lines up more with Humphrey than Nixon, since Nixon is not at all opposed to individual states passing right-to-work laws.

While many Wallace supporters believe the Alabamian is unalterably opposed to the 1954 Supreme Court school desegration decision, Wallace told the Times he did not necessarily want to revoke it. When asked if his proposed amendment to turn over control of the schools to the states would overturn the 1954 judgment, Wallace responded: "Well, not necessarily—the 1954 decision was an anti-discrimination decision. I don't know that anybody argues with an anti-discrimination decision."

Regarding ways in which to deal with crime, Wallace seems to have taken a slightly softer approach. He would appoint more conservative-minded jurists



NIXON

WALLACE

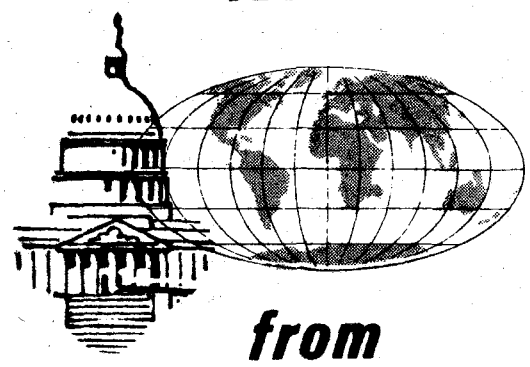
to the Supreme Court—an idea that really doesn't differ from Nixon's. And he doesn't seem to have any real intention of running over "anarchists" who lie in front of his automobile.

As Haynes Johnson of the Washington *Star* reports: "Actually, Wallace is known to have remarked he doesn't mean he would run over any one at all. Four years ago, when he was in Maryland after qualifying for that state's presidential primary, someone did get in front of his car. The driver indicated he was about to run into him. Wallace cried out to halt the driver. The police then forcibly removed the demonstrator.

"That is the kind of action he would employ, Wallace has said. He has also said he will not spell that out in speeches because it might cost him votes."

In the field of foreign policy, Wallace also presented views that reflected a less than hawkish posture. While his views on deploying an ABM system and winning the war in Viet Nam are similar to the views of either Ronald Reagan or Richard Nixon, he also accepts the idea that the United States will have to have diplomatic relations with

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Communist China. And he won't say whether he believes that Israel, under repeated threats from the Soviets and their pawn, Egypt's Nasser, should be sold F4 Phantom jets—a move endorsed by both Nixon and Humphrey.

Wallace's announced views, then, do not seem radically different from those of many mainstream Republicans and are sometimes less conservative than those of Richard Nixon.

Thus the question arises: What is the need for Wallace's third party?

Krock Tells It Like It's Been

What caught the attention of much of Washington last week was the publication of *Memoirs*, a fascinating volume on politics written by Arthur Krock, the three-time Pulitzer Prize-winner who was for more than 30 years the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times*. An intimate of Presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to LBJ, Krock has filled his work with incisive comments and revealing insights into history.

While Krock has much to say on a wide range of topics, political observers in this election year were keenly interested in his contrasting assessments of the Eisenhower-Nixon years and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Contrary to many of the "intellectual" historians, Krock views the Eisenhower regime as "most notable," save for its disastrous misjudgment in supporting Fidel Castro. Under Ike, notes Krock, the United States generally rebuffed the Communists through "brinksmanship," was not involved in any war and was not plagued by a general lawlessness internally.

The Johnson Administration, on the other hand, is viewed with alarm and "has fallen far short of acceptability." The affluence LBJ cites "is built on rising inflation and the ephemeral goods and services of a war economy," Krock charges.

"The resumption of even a minimum peacetime footing will not for years free the nation from the crushing burden of a long and wasteful major war and foreign occupation. The hundreds of billions expended in a secondary peninsula of Southeast Asia, when we dare not press to a military victory, are forever lost in the furnaces of battle—no durable economic strength abides in their expenditure or in the skills thereby furthered or newly created. A war whose magnitude two Presidents made inevitable will stand in history as a perfect example of the disasters wreaked upon a nation by all-powerful chiefs of state who leaped before they looked."

Krock contends that one "of the most depressing exhibitions of what politicians will do in a quest for tomorrow's votes instead of day-after-tomorrow's national well-being was the impossible promises they made of a totally egalitarian American society overnight.

"In consequence masses of Negroes, incited by anarchistic agitators, have expressed their disillusionment in arson, looting, and other forms of criminal violence, slightly and seldom to experience the penalties of the law because of the improvised and false doctrine of the Administration that enforcement of law is placing 'property rights' over 'human life.' "

While LBJ is a "lion on the platform, roaring words of denunciation of the shameful lack of protection from criminals of citizens going about their legitimate and peaceful concerns," Krock points out that at the desk he is a "lamb who vetoed the better of the two congressional anti-crime bills. . . ."

The fires of inflation, Krock observes, have been allowed to spread, and actually were fed by government after many had loudly sounded the alarm. And despite "several specific promises," Johnson has shrunk from proposing "a most essential anti-inflation measure—a legislative curb on the excessive, and excessively used, special legal powers of the labor unions, supplemented by acts of violence. . . .

"As his term draws to an end, Johnson actually is presiding over a society sickened by quack cure-alls."

Such are the sober judgments of one of the most highly regarded journalists of this century.

Behind Ball's U.N. Resignation

Sen. Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) has called George W. Ball's resignation as ambassador to the United Nations "one of the most shocking pieces of political chicanery that has ever come down the turnpike."

BALL

Allott asserted that 24 hours after the Senate had confirmed Ball as a representative to the new General Assembly—he'd been confirmed as U.N. ambassador last May—"the President and the secretary of state are faced with his resignation so he can go out on the political trail, presumably so he can be secretary of state. . . . A man who'll desert the ship as fast as Mr. Ball deserted it will desert Mr. Humphrey down the street. . . ."

A number of newsmen, however, believe there may be much more behind Ball's sudden leaving of his job than meets the eye.

A top reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, for example, has privately said that he believes LBJ suddenly yanked Ball from his post because of information that could prove embarrassing to both Ball and the Administration. Floating around the Capitol, further, is a letter, a copy of which has fallen into *Human Events*' hands, which details alleged business dealings involving Ball that the Johnson Administration would not necessarily want divulged.

What part this letter may have played in Ball's resignation has yet to be determined. At any rate, there is great suspicion that there may be more to the Ball resignation than has so far been revealed.

USIS Plugs Stokely

The New Left Liberation News Service, a radical news agency that operates out of New York City, recently reported on a "photo display on U.S. poli-

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tics" in the window of the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria. This display by the United States Information Service (USIS), it went on, portrays several black leaders as if they were "the mainstays of the American way of life."

The exact text of the photo caption, said LNS, is:

" 'Stokely Carmichael (center) of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is one of the most militant and vociferous advocates of black power as a tactic of agitation to win wider and better opportunities for Negroes. At left is Cleveland Sellers, SNCC project director in South Carolina, and at right is Lester McKinnie, director of SNCC in Washington, D.C.' "

As the LNS tells it, the USIS absolutely failed to denounce the Castroite Carmichael, an advocate of U.S. destruction by violence, in any fashion.

When *Human Events* checked with the USIS to see if the LNS story were true, a responsible source said he was sure the LNS had correctly quoted the caption, though he also acknowledged that Carmichael had since left the SNCC organization.

In short, our USIS appears to be lopsided with those who feel it's perfectly okay to portray such anti-American, pro-Communist fellows as Carmichael as only vigorous advocates of racial equality. Maybe Congress should take a look into the matter.

Fortas Appointment Foundering

Knowledgeable political observers believe there is virtually no chance that the Senate will confirm Abe Fortas as chief justice of the United States. This prediction became even more certain last week when GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), until recently a solid supporter of Fortas' appointment, said he would not back a move to choke off a filibuster against the nomination. Further, the Illinois Republican left open the question whether he would even vote for approval of Fortas if the controversial nomination ever came to a vote. Many believe the Dirksen switch will be fatal to the Fortas nomination, though it seemed moribund even before the Illinois lawmaker had changed his mind.

DIRKSEN

Aside from Fortas' decisions which many senators have found appallingly lenient toward criminals and destructive of our internal security, the growing opposition to his nomination has been based on his advice to the President and the acceptance of a $15,000 lecture fee raised by powerful business friends whose interests are consistently being affected by Supreme Court decisions.

Although leading the fight to get Fortas confirmed, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) had to concede last week that the fee for the nine-week law seminar at American University was "unfortunate." Amplifying on these remarks, Mansfield said it was not proper for Fortas, "a man of considerable means," to accept the money solicited by one of Fortas' former law partners from friends and former business associates of the Justice. Mansfield said the incident "breaches the extraordinary insulation which must exist between the Supreme Court and other branches of the government and private interests."

It is no excuse that congressmen also accept lecture fees, he continued, because "we must submit our records periodically to an electorate."

The Fortas nomination was also failing for other reasons. Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), a leader of the anti-Fortas crowd, also zeroed in on Fortas' credibility gap. In testimony before the Senate during 1965 and 1968, noted Griffin, Fortas maintained that his relationship with the President had been "exaggerated." In light of this, said Griffin, it is interesting to note that the 1965-66 edition of *Who's Who in the South and Southwest* lists the address for Fortas' office as "care the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington." The practice of "Who's Who," Griffin observed tersely, "is to submit the text of each biographical sketch to the individual before publication."

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), offers still another justification for not approving Fortas. He insists that Chief Justice Earl Warren now be required to resign before a successor is confirmed. "Chief Justice Warren's threat not to resign unless a successor acceptable to him is appointed," said Ervin in a letter to his colleagues last week, "is nothing more than a meddlesome attempt to dilute the constitutional function of the Senate." And thus it goes. With each passing day, there seems to be new reasons for killing off the Fortas appointment; hence the solid speculation that LBJ's controversial crony will not be Earl Warren's successor. For this the voters can particularly thank Senators Strom Thurmond, Robert Griffin, Paul Fannin and Sam Ervin.

Another LBJ Buddy in Trouble

Abe Fortas is not the only LBJ "crony" that appears about to get the "axe" from the Senate. Dr. James H. McCrocklin, under secretary of health, education and welfare, doesn't look as if he'll be confirmed as a U.S. representative to the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (UNESCO).

On the motion of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.), the Senate last week returned to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for further scrutiny the names of 10 nominees to UNESCO already approved by the committee. The reason for this strange procedure was believed to have been the recent disclosures concerning LBJ-pal McCrocklin.

The liberal *Texas Observer*, never a fan of the President's, revealed that McCrocklin, the No. 2 man at HEW and on leave of absence as president of Southwest Texas State College, LBJ's alma mater, had won his doctoral degree with a dissertation almost identical to a master's thesis submitted by his wife a year earlier. The *Observer* not only gave paragraph-for-paragraph evidence supporting its claim, but also disclosed that McCrocklin had been on the three-man faculty panel that approved his wife's paper.

More recently, the embarrassment was compounded by the revelation that both McCrocklin and his wife had probably borrowed not so much from each other as from an official 1934 Marine Corps report and a 1939 Marine history of the American intervention in Haiti.

In 1955, when the Naval Institute published McCrocklin's dissertation as a book, it listed him as "compiler" rather than author. In *Who's Who in America*, however, McCrocklin credited himself as author. Often mentioned as a candidate for the presidency of the University of Texas when LBJ begins teaching there next year, McCrocklin has declined all comment.

The Senate, however, looks as if it will comment by denying McCrocklin his UNESCO post.

Watson Praises Número Uno

Remember back when former White House adviser Jack Valenti said he slept better at night knowing LBJ was his President? Well, Postmaster General Marvin Watson, another long-time Johnson crony, could teach Valenti a thing or two when it comes to singing the praises of The Boss. Consider the following recent remarks made by Watson at ceremonies dedicating three special commemorative postage stamps:

• On September 16 in Enid, Okla., dedicating a stamp commemorating the Cherokee Strip, Watson said: "I believe the spirit behind the Cherokee Strip and the spirit of our President are remarkably alike."

• On September 11 in Marceline, Mo., dedicating a stamp commemorating Walt Disney, Watson allowed as how "Walt Disney, cartoonist and dreamer" and "Lyndon Johnson, politician and dreamer" were much alike. (He could have added that both men also labored mightily to bring forth a mouse.)

• Finally, on September 25 in Frankfort, Ky., dedicating a stamp commemorating Daniel Boone, Watson found a similarity between pioneer Boone and "Lyndon Baines Johnson who also struck out across uncharted lands and tamed once forbidden territory."

Sleep well, Marvin.

Radicals Plan Mau Mau Tactics

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover disclosed last week that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee held a top-secret conference earlier this year at which plans were discussed for the "elimination by Mau Mau tactics" of mayors, chiefs of police and other local officials.

HOOVER

Hoover said the closed-door conference was held in mid-April. A majority of participants were armed.

Among the tactics discussed was the preparation of maps showing the homes of local officials who could be wiped out Mau-Mau style, Hoover said. The deployment of snipers along travel routes of National Guard units and police forces was also discussed.

Participants were urged to recruit Viet Nam war veterans to train militant blacks in demolition and guerrilla warfare. Black college students were to instruct ghetto residents in the care and use of firearms, the preparation of Molotov cocktails, and the reloading of spent cartridges.

Hoover also disclosed that plans were mapped at a recent meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society to sabotage Selective Service installations.

Suggestions, said Hoover, included: firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns; dropping "thermite bombs" down manholes to destroy communications systems; using sharp, tripod-shaped metal instruments to halt police and army vehicles.

• Chicago police last week foiled a plot by guerrilla hippies to firebomb two Loop department stores and create havoc during a scheduled peace march. They raided the headquarters of the Heavenly Blue Lights, a militant New Left group, and confiscated a veritable assembly line for the manufacture of Molotov cocktails.

CSC Rejects Otepka Appeal

Otto F. Otepka will take his case to federal court in the wake of the Civil Service Commission's decision last week rejecting his final appeal for reinstatement as the State Department's top security officer.

OTEPKA

Otepka, who lost his job for cooperating with Senate investigators, will file suit in U.S. District Court to clear his record of the findings against him.

"Up to this point, all the proceedings have been cloaked in secrecy by decree of the State Department," Otepka said. "It will be a relief to present my case in an open court where the public, at least, may learn the complete details of what I can prove to be a conspiracy."

The Civil Service Commission notified Otepka last week that its appeals and review board was upholding Secretary of State Rusk's authority to demote Otepka and bar him from security duties.

The commission held that an executive order handed down by President Truman 20 years ago takes precedence over an act of Congress that guarantees employes the right to furnish information to Congress and its committees. The Truman directive prohibited employes from testifying before Congress without permission of their superiors.

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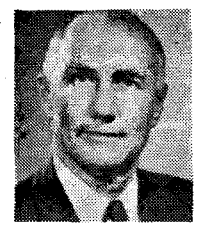
POLITICS '68

STROM'S NIXON PITCH

Sen. **Strom Thurmond** (R.-S.C.) is waging a vigorous campaign on behalf of Richard Nixon in South Carolina with the argument that a vote for Wallace is, in effect, **a vote for Humphrey.** Thurmond's message is being carried in massive direct-mail appeals, full-page newspaper ads and on statewide television. Thurmond himself is stumping the state and taking to TV to personally appeal to the voters.



THURMOND

While Thurmond, one of the nation's leading conservatives, never mentions George Wallace by name, he repeatedly stresses that a vote for his "third party" is a vote that will not only be tossed away but actually aid the **Johnson-Humphrey forces**. A newspaper ad in the form of a letter to South Carolinians and signed by Thurmond underscores the point in the following fashion:

"On November 5 you will cast the most crucial vote in your life. Your ultimate choice will be between Republican Richard M. Nixon and Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey because a Third Party candidate cannot be elected.

"You can affect the outcome of this election by what you do or fail to do. If you are concerned about the policies of the present Administration in Washington, then the best and only way to get a change is to vote and work for **Richard Nixon.** For, to support the Third Party effort is to split the vote opposing the Administration and thus permit Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson to divide and conquer us.

"My long experience and earnest consideration have convinced me that the best interest of our state, nation and the world will be served by my giving every effort and dollar I can muster to the fight to elect Richard Nixon. . . ."

A mailing put out by the **Thurmond Speaks Committee** also hammers home the point that the "Third Party candidate cannot be elected" and that Humphrey can win if "he can split the vote of his opposition . . . or, if he can get the election thrown into the U.S. House for the politicians to make the choice. Let's not let Humphrey divide and conquer us!"

Countering Wallace's argument that there is not a **dime's worth of difference** between the parties, a Thurmond-approved mailing says that a change to Nixon will "bring an honorable peace abroad and restore American prestige," restore "law and order and give us an Attorney General who will enforce the laws against organized crime, filth peddlers and anarchists," result in Supreme Court appointees who "respect the Constitution rather than rewrite it," end bankrupt "spending" and stop federal agencies and courts from turning into local school boards.

Political observers say the Wallace-Nixon contest is close in the Palmetto State, but they believe that the Thurmond campaign can probably put **South Carolina** in the GOP corner come November.

HUMPHREY'S BIOGRAPHER

Some politicos are wondering why Humphrey forces are distributing the paperback edition of **Humphrey: A Candid Biography** written by Winthrop Griffith, an aide to HHH from January 1960 to February 1964.

While the book is favorable toward Humphrey, many believe it is a bit too candid to do the vice president any good.

While Griffith says Humphrey "would probably be a good President," he concedes that he "would take office with several troublesome but not necessarily **crippling limitations.**" One of his most appealing characteristics, says Griffith, is his "love of people," but this "would in one sense be a presidential weakness." Griffith stresses that Humphrey "is almost incapable of saying 'No' to the request of any human being, particularly when it is made personally and directly to him."

He would have trouble, Griffith goes on, turning down the marginally important or inconsequential requests for his time and effort. He "would be, at least at first, reluctant to make decisions which would hurt or disappoint individuals or groups of people he knows. With him in the White House, there would be **some procrastination** in the making of decisions to resolve irreconcilable conflicts among his 'friends.'"

Griffith says he would have to make a "revolutionary change" in his work habits and "need to control his restless compulsion for pure motion and activity and to reduce his dependence on the actual presences of other human beings." Finally, Griffith concedes that he "might make some **whopping mistakes** as President. . . ."

Griffith still has high hopes that Humphrey would be a good man to have in the White House, but politicos aren't too sure that the Griffith book will sell too many voters.

DYNAMIC DUO

Those two Republican senators from New York—**Jacob Javits** and **Charles Goodell**—say they're for Dick Nixon and Ted Agnew, but they certainly have a funny way of showing it. In campaigning for re-election last week, Javits sharply criticized Nixon's strong stand in resisting aggression in Viet Nam, his attempt to win Wallace supporters and his opposition to relying on the withholding of federal funds to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While Javits at least has the excuse that he's running for re-election in liberal New York, the newly appointed Goodell can offer **no such alibi** since his term won't expire until 1971. Goodell, nevertheless, continues to aim his fire at the Nixon-Agnew team.

He says that unless Nixon offers positive programs, he won't carry New York. He has criticized him for not backing **Abe Fortas**, for failing to endorse a 20-day bomb halt of North Viet Nam, for his views on desegregation of schools, etc.

GOODELL

JAVITS

Goodell, in fact, has been so critical of Nixon that he was recently asked at the **Women's National Republican Club** in New York, "Why have you continually criticized Richard Nixon and taken the prerogative of dictating policy to the Republican party?" Why, another Republican wanted to know, had his attacks on Nixon received such wide publicity but his attacks on Humphrey so little? Goodell's responses have not been too well received.

Some politicos believe **the real reason** Goodell is being so gabby—even though he doesn't need to be—is that the sudden rise from congressman to senator has just plain gone to his head. They think he had better calm down if he wants to have any sort of role in a Nixon Administration.

BLACK CAPITALISM

Republicans in **Washington state** stand a good chance of electing their first lieutenant governor in several years in 1968, and, in the process, provide the state with its first Negro statewide official ever. The GOP candidate for the second highest post in the state, a post which the party has held but once in the past 36 years, is **Arthur Fletcher**, a one-time pro football player whose self-help projects for ghetto residents helped form the basis for the Republican party's "black capitalism" proposal.

Fletcher impressed local politicos in his primary race by carrying every single county in a state where approximately one resident in 50 is a Negro. The 43-year-old Fletcher now faces Democratic incumbent Lt. Gov. **John A. Cherberg**, who is seeking re-election to a fourth term. The Republicans' liberal incumbent governor, national convention keynoter **Dan Evans**, is expected to win another term and could pull Fletcher in with him.

The black candidate first attracted national attention with his unique **Cooperative Association** begun three years ago in his hometown of East Pasco, Wash. Residents of the community purchased shares in the cooperative with their own hard-earned dollars, the aim being to build a complete shopping center in East Pasco. One service station has already been completed, another is abuilding, and a credit union and supermarket are in the planning stages. Now Fletcher is busy extending his concept of private ownership —which he terms "sweat equity"—to help East Pasco residents own their own houses and initiate a similar cooperative project in a poor white neighborhood in Spokane.

What most appealed to national Republican officials was the fact that Fletcher's project was completely financed with **private funds**. Fletcher views **urban renewal** as "black removal" and refuses to accept federal poverty grants because they are "so bound up in red tape." Instead, the GOP candidate relies on self-improvement and pride in ownership, the essence of "black capitalism" which the national party wrote into the official Republican platform at the 1968 convention.

In addition to running his own race, Fletcher is also serving on a special minority groups committee which acts as an advisory body for GOP presidential contender Richard Nixon.

DISSIDENT DEMOCRATS

Dissident Democratic leaders, meeting September 14-15 in Minneapolis, have taken the first steps toward organizing a permanent national coalition within the Democratic party to press for leftist goals. Acting as chairman of a temporary steering committee to set up the **New Democratic Coalition (NDC)** was Jack Gore, assistant director of labor education at the University of Colorado Labor Research Center.

Others active in the formation of the NDC: Georgia State Rep. **Julian Bond**, whose name was put in nomination for vice president during the Democratic National Convention; **Allard K. Lowenstein**, a leader of the Dump Johnson movement and U.S. House candidate from New York's 5th District; **Paul Schrade**, Western regional organizer for the United Auto Workers; **Donald O. Peterson**, chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to the Democratic National Convention; **Sanford Gottlieb**, executive director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

NIXON SCORES HHH

Richard Nixon continues to cross swords with Hubert Humphrey on the **"law and order" issue.** Nixon has assailed the attorney general and criticized a number of Supreme Court decisions hampering the police; Humphrey, in turn, has called the former vice president the "Fearless Fosdick" presidential candidate. He has also said he is "proud of" the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Last week in the campaign Nixon asked a series of rhetorical questions. "Is he proud of the fact," Nixon asked of Humphrey, **"that crimes of violence** in the United States have almost doubled under these last two Administrations?

"Is he proud of the fact that in **Washington, D.C.,** today churches are closing down when services end—out of fear of thieves and vandals?

"Is he proud of the fact that they now have to use scrip on the buses of Washington, D.C., at night to prevent robberies?

"Is he proud of the fact that under this Administration a **violent mob** burned down a great section of America's capital—something that hasn't been done in Washington, D.C., since British troops left 155 years ago?

With that kind of record, Nixon concluded in a speech in Denver, "instead of defending the record of the attorney general, I say we need a **new policy**, we need a new respect for law in America."

LABOR'S MYSTERY FUND

Washington political circles were astir last week with the discovery of a mysterious organization, called the **Committee for the Advancement of Urban Interests**, which no one seemed to know anything about. All that was known was the committee had raised over $50,000 from labor political groups for donations to liberal Democratic candidates, notably Ohio senatorial hopeful **John Gilligan**; but no one connected with the group would comment on its operations.

Actually, there need not have been so much mystery. The AFL-CIO's **Committee on Political Education** (COPE), with help from the **the National Committee for an Effective Congress,** has long followed the practice of setting up bogus "front" groups to aid liberal candidates, using funds from other labor organizations and similar liberal interests. This was done as long ago as 1956.

The reason for the surreptitious handling of campaign contributions is a loophole in the **Corrupt Practices Act,** which governs political financing for federal elections. The law carefully regulates, and requires reporting of, contributions going from one state to a candidate in another state; but it does not classify the District of Columbia as a state. Therefore, COPE sets up a "front" in Washington to help Candidate "X" in some faraway state and none of the financial transactions involved are subject to federal regulation.

This is undoubtedly what is occurring with Democrat John Gilligan and the sham Urban Interests Committee. And there is nothing anyone can do except warn the voters of Ohio.

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Unclogging the Skies

Free-market principles might ease airport congestion

By WILLIAM D. GRAMPP in the *Wall Street Journal*

The air over our major cities is full of planes and full of proposals for easing the congestion.

Most of these suggestions involve government controls and priorities—or at least tacit scheduling and fare agreements among airlines which, the Civil Aeronautics Board regretfully admits, would strike "to the heart of the competitive air transportation system."

An alternative means of ending congestion while promoting competition would be free-market pricing of airport time and space.

Congestion would be alleviated if the landing fees were higher at peak hours, which would shift some of the traffic to off-peak times. This would also produce a better utilization of airports.

Just what the prices should be at different times could be left to the competitive bidding of those who operate aircraft: The commercial airlines and general aviation (a term that includes private and corporate planes, air taxis, etc.). The price would be highest when the need for space was greatest, say between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m., and lowest when the need was least, perhaps between midnight and morning.

The price would actually be a rental fee for using the space for a given time. The rate would be constant for all customers at each airport for any time segment. But if Aircraft A needed twice as much time as Aircraft B to take off or land, A's fee would be twice B's.

Fees would vary from airport to airport, depending upon demand. The charge at Kennedy would probably be higher than that at LaGuardia, and O'Hare would certainly be more expensive than Midway. These rental differences could reduce traffic at busy airports and increase it at those that are underused.

The author is professor of economics at the University of Illinois in Chicago. The proposal made here is explained in more detail in a copyrighted article published in the October issue of Business Horizons, *a publication of the school of Business, Indiana University.*

Most of the traffic diversion resulting from such a system would affect general aviation. Its aircraft would use the less-crowded airports in even larger proportion than now and would use the crowded airports at off-peak times. The same would be true of airline cargo flights.

General aviation is strongly opposed to any change that would give commercial airlines a precedence over it, and understandably so. It argues that commercial highway traffic does not take precedence over private automobiles, and it might also contend that general aviation has developed with implicit promises of assistance from government. At some publicly owned airports, for example, no landing fee is charged for general aviation aircraft, and parking a plane overnight costs no more than parking an automobile in a commercial garage.

General aviation does have a kind of legitimate or "innocent" vested interest but this ought not to be protected indefinitely. A corporate jet taking off or landing with five or 10 passengers uses about the same amount of time and airport facilities as a commercial jet carrying 50 or 100. A reasonable assumption is that the time is worth more to the larger than to the smaller number, but it is an assumption that competitive bidding could test.

If the five corporate executives considered their time more valuable than that of the 50 commercial passengers, the five would be perfectly free to outbid the 50 so their small plane would take precedence.

The reasoning is unlikely to persuade the advocates of general aviation, because of the loss imposed on those who were given to understand they would be assisted by government. That problem could be managed in either of two ways. One is to pay the operators of general aviation aircraft to use the less-busy airports. The payments could come out of the higher fees charged at the crowded airports.

The alternative is more elaborate: Give the present users of all airports the same rights of use for a specific time as they have had for a certain time in the past. The commercial airlines and the general aviation operators would continue for the specified time to have the same access as they have had, to all airports. But these rights would be made exchangeable among those who own them. That is, the owners could buy and sell the rights to each other without interference or restriction from airport authorities. Thus the space at all airports would be used by those to whom it is most valuable, and any value it has would be reflected by the price paid.

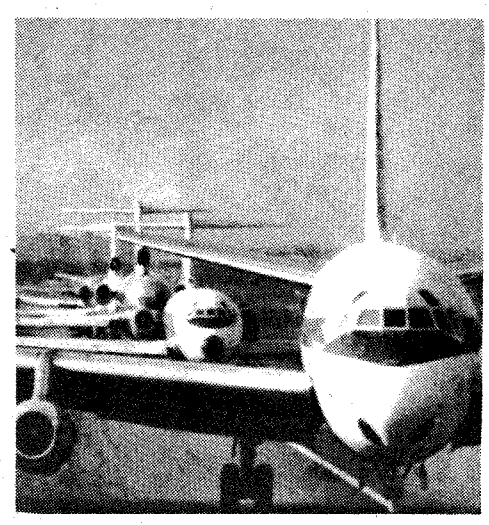
Both the airlines and general aviation would be better off than either now is. The airport authorities would be no worse off, because they would continue to be paid as they are now for rights of use in the form of landing fees.

In time, as general aviation accommodated itself to the new distribution of traffic among airports, the plan would be discontinued. It would be replaced by the simple auctioning of rights of use from which airports would receive the revenue. In this system, there could be brokers who would buy rights for resale to those who use particular airports only occasionally.

(The danger of the interim plan is that groups could be formed to drive prices up or down, but there are ways of managing that, for example by the laws against conspiracy.)

The competitive pricing of airport space would raise the cost of operating aircraft at some times but would lower it at others. The net effect is uncertain. But there are other cost effects. The cost of congestion would be reduced to the airlines and also to the passengers whose time is consumed. The airports would operate more efficiently and at a lower cost per unit of service performed.

But if congestion continues, not only will its immediate cost go on, but there will be other costs in the form of spending to enlarge airports, to build highways to them, to develop and manufacture new planes that use less landing and take-off space (which when put into use will make some previous airport expenditure obsolete).



This is a typical scene at New York City's John F. Kennedy International Airport as jets await their turn to take off.

In the building of airports there is a peculiarity that is not present in construction in the private sector. It is simply that the people who use the airports pay less than the full cost. The difference is borne more or less by the public at large. If the users bore the cost they would want fewer airports built and existing airports used as efficiently as possible before any more were constructed.

A more efficient use would be encouraged by pricing airport space in a competitive way. More efficiency would be encouraged also by the competitive pricing of space on the aircraft themselves—passenger and cargo rates. That is a much more difficult change to make, because the vested interests (some of them quite innocent) in the regulation of rates are stronger even than those in general aviation. Nevertheless, competitive pricing of both airport and aircraft space is a means of reducing congestion as much as possible.

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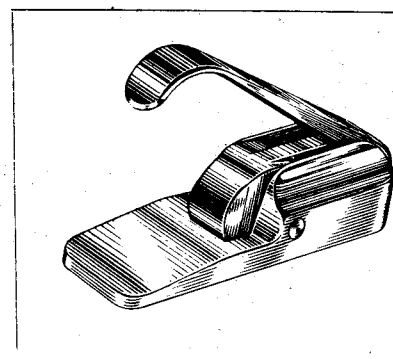

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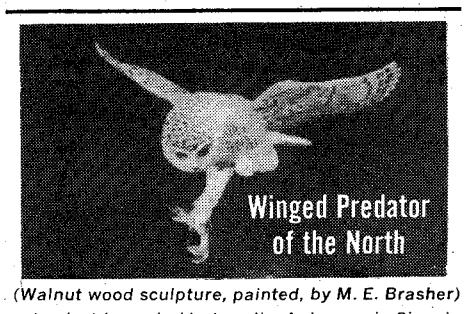

(Walnut wood sculpture, painted, by M. E. Brasher)

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Young Americans for Freedom Asks:

Are we financing our own destruction?

Why do we continue to trade with the Communist Bloc while our sons fight and die in Viet Nam?

WHY DOES THE GOVERNMENT IGNORE THE FOREWARNING OF LENIN?

"When the capitalist world starts to trade with us—on that day they will begin to finance their own destruction."

WHY DO GOVERNMENT LEADERS TELL US THAT TRADE IS LIMITED TO NON-STRATEGIC MATERIAL, WHEN THIS IS NOT TRUE?

HERE ARE JUST A FEW OF HUNDREDS OF ITEMS APPROVED BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE* FOR EXPORT TO THE USSR AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: *For a comprehensive list see U.S. Department of Commerce Current Export Bulletin 941, October 12, 1966. 71142—Aircraft engines as follows: (a) jet engines of 5,000 pounds thrust or over, and (b) turbo-prop and turbo-shaft engines of 2,500 horsepower or more or with residual thrust of 1,000 pounds or more. Other jet, turbo-prop, turbo-shaft, and gas turbine aircraft engines. Parts and accessories, n.e.c., specially designed for jet, turbo-jet and turbo-shaft aircraft engines. 72499—Ground and marine radar equipment. 73202—Military and nonmilitary vehicles. Military trucks, truck chassis and truck tractors, etc.

WHY DO IBM AND OTHER COMPANIES SELL ELECTRONIC COMPUTERS TO THE COMMUNIST BLOC?

The "Frank McGee Report," NBC News, January 7, 1968, featured a special story on the extent of Soviet educational and scientific achievements since October 1957, when the first Sputnik was launched. During this news feature, Mr. McGee commented: "The heart of research . . . is the computer. Here the Russians frankly admit they're behind the United States by 5, even 10 years. But the Soviet scientists have come a long way from the days when Stalin decreed that computers were a wicked capitalist invention. Without the computer there would be no Soviet space program." Eugene Lyons, senior editor of the Reader's Digest, reports in his recent book "Workers' Paradise Lost": "It is easy to understand why the Kremlin is so eager to import Western and Japanese equipment in this field. By its own admission, the Soviet Union has not yet learned to make dependable electronic devices."

WHY ARE GOVERNMENT LEADERS INTERESTED IN SELLING OUR WHEAT TO THE COMMUNIST BLOC WHEN IT MAY SOON BE IN SHORT SUPPLY? WHY DO THEY PUSH FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SELL IT ON LONG TERM CREDIT?

The U.S.S.R. never did pay off "Lend-Lease" debts or pay for goods stolen from its satellites. It is significant to note that on April 6, 1964 the Assembly of Captive European Nations presented to UN Secretary General U. Thant a claim for $8,098,000,000 against the U.S.S.R. for "illicit gains the Soviet Union has made from 1955 to 1962 by overcharging exports and underpricing imports." If this is how they treat their "friends," how will they treat us?

WHY ARE GOVERNMENT LEADERS TRYING TO SELL THE IDEA OF "BUILDING BRIDGES" AND INCREASING TRADE WITH THE U.S.S.R.?

Do the Communists trade to "build bridges of understanding," or do they trade to strengthen their power for world conquest? In March, Congressman Melvin Laird disclosed that since October 1966, Soviet aid to North Viet Nam has been running at a rate of more than a billion dollars annually. Goods supplied include supersonic aircraft, surface-to-air missiles used to shoot down American aircraft, from 5,000 to 7,000 antiaircraft guns with shells, jet bombers, transport aircraft, troop carrying trucks, petroleum, bridge repair materials, rockets and small arms.

HOW AN AMERICAN FIGHTING MAN FEELS —

Lt. Leslie Lewis from McLean, Virginia—after 11 months in Vietnam, reported in an interview:
"Even though it's rough, I'm proud to be here. It's for the country, after all, isn't it? I'd like to get into politics and really tell the people what it's all about. You know, we keep picking up Russian guns and other equipment. It sort of makes me mad that Americans are still doing business with the Russians the same time as we're fighting them here. No, I never saw any Russians here, but that doesn't matter. It's the gun that's even more important than the guy who fires it. And they are Russian guns. It doesn't seem to make much sense, does it?"

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

Colorado Senate Race

Dominick vs. McNichols

When Colorado Gov. Steve McNichols was defeated for re-election six years ago, the veteran Democrat decided that he would like to get into the banking business. McNichols approached Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon, an old friend, and Saxon obliged by approving a bank charter for the governor's friends.

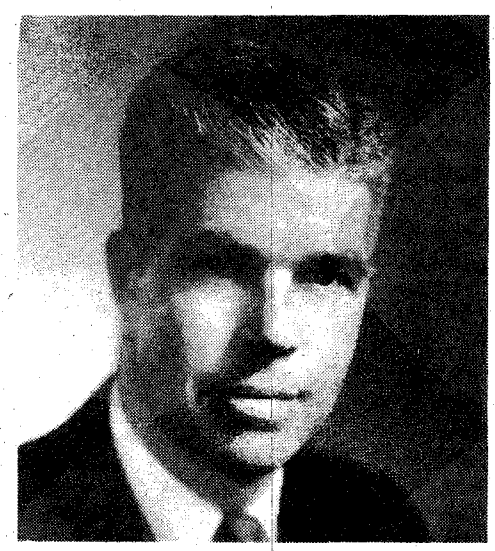
McNichols—who had no banking experience—became senior vice president of the new institution, the 17th Street National Bank of Denver. The new bank then helped finance another bank, the Brighton National Bank of Brighton, Colo.

But the Brighton Bank turned out to be a "front for gangsters," as federal officials admitted later. Deputy Comptroller J. P. Watson told a Senate subcommittee, "racketeers and con men" had "completely milked" the bank—necessitating its being shut down in January 1965. In a masterpiece of understatement, Watson said that 17th National officials had "not been prudent" in financing the Brighton manipulators.

McNichols rode out the storm, moved up to his bank's presidency, but apparently tired of high finance. Now the former governor is returning to the political wars, opposing incumbent Republican Peter Dominick for the U.S. Senate.

Ironically, it was McNichols who helped put Dominick in the Senate. Elected to the House in 1960, Dominick tried for the Senate two years later. McNichols' popularity had plummeted so badly that he served as a drag on the entire Democratic ticket and Dominick was elected with 53 per cent of the vote.

McNichols is denouncing the conservative Dominick as a "do-nothing senator" and a Viet Nam hawk. "Dominick's basic problem is that he is a Republican," McNichols says. "That's no sin, just a mistake. He has been



PETER DOMINICK

isolated from the problems of the people, isolated in the East and Wall Street to a point that he has no concept of how most people live and think."

Democratic strategists are fostering a whispering campaign that Dominick is an "Eastern carpetbagger," but the fact of the matter is that Dominick has been a Denver resident since the end of World War II. A similar attack on Dominick as a "Peter-come-lately" failed in 1962.

As he did in 1960 and in 1962, Dominick has the vigorous opposition of organized labor, which claims that he has voted "wrong" on 39 of 44 key rollcalls on issues ranging from rent subsidies to the "War on Poverty" to foreign aid (Dominick for Senate Committee: 215 Majestic Bldg., Denver, Colo. 80202).

Dominick's hard-line anti-communism promises to be a major issue in the campaign. The silver-thatched lawmaker attacks as "incoherent" the Administration's policy of "detente, which has so far proved to be an illusion politically, economically and militarily."

Indiana Senate Race

Ruckelshaus vs. Bayh

A constituent called the Capitol office of Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh the other day to ask for information. "Oh, there's no one here who could answer your question," the caller was told. "Everybody's back in the state."

For several weeks, virtually everyone on Bayh's staff has been in Indiana devoting full time to his campaign. They should be worried. The freshman senator faces a very stiff challenge from an energetic young Republican, State Rep. William Ruckelshaus of Marion County (Indianapolis).

Transferring his staff from Washington to Indianapolis is only one aspect of Bayh's campaign. More important is the blurring of his image, from Johnson Democrat to independent moderate.

Until a year ago, Bayh was a down-the-line supporter of the Johnson war policy. Now, however, Bayh calls for a complete unilateral bombing halt above the 17th parallel. Ruckelshaus terms Bayh an "instant dove" and accuses him of "playing politics with the lives of more than a half-million men."

WILLIAM RUCKELSHAUS

Ruckelshaus notes that Bayh talks economy in Indiana but votes consistently for Administration spending programs. The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* reports that only three members of the Senate have given Johnson more consistent support than the Hoosier freshman.

The Bayh campaign has been amply funded by out-of-state labor groups. The solicitude of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, whose officials have spent weeks in Indiana overseeing the Bayh campaign, is not hard to fathom: During his six years in office, Bayh has voted COPE's way on 28 of 29 key votes ranging from 14b to model cities.

Ruckelshaus, who was elected majority leader of the Indiana House in his first term, is waging a seven-days-a-week "person-to-person" campaign that will take him into every county in the state (Ruckelshaus for Senate Committee, 11 North Capitol Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46204). In recent weeks he has made "crime and lawlessness" a major issue, asserting that "leniency toward criminals in our courts, both high and low, has contributed to the affluence and the freedom of the criminal."

What is needed, says the GOP nominee, is recognition of the principle that "individuals must be held responsible for their own actions," that "permissiveness" must be abandoned, that "duly constituted authority, imperfect as it may be, is all that stands between us and anarchy."

Ruckelshaus began the campaign far behind, but Republicans and Democrats agree that he has closed the gap. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak even maintain that he is now in front. Most observers, however, feel that Bayh still leads by a narrow margin.

The Ruckelshaus campaign will be aided by the presence on the ticket of Richard Nixon, who carried Indiana overwhelmingly eight years ago and who is expected to do so again. GOP gubernatorial candidate Edgar Whitcomb, the incumbent secretary of state, is waging a strong campaign, and Hoosier Republicans, who have feuded savagely down through the years, appear to be relatively united as the campaign enters the home stretch.

Texas' 10th District

Gabler vs. Pickle

LBJ is in danger of losing his congressman. That's the word from Republicans in Texas' 10th District who believe they have an excellent chance of retiring Johnson lackey J. J. (Jake) Pickle from Congress.

Not since 1963, when Pickle won a special election, has he had a serious challenge. But a 38-year-old Austin businessman, Ray Gabler, has launched a non-stop campaign that has the incumbent plainly worried.

Gabler kicked off his campaign almost a year ago, opened full-time headquarters in April (Gabler for Congress Committee, 917 West 12th St., Austin, Tex. 78703), and has aimed a steady drum-fire of criticism at Pickle. The GOP nominee notes that Pickle has served his constituent, Lyndon Johnson, as a rubber stamp, giving crucial support to such key Administration programs as rent supplements, the "War on Poverty," and aid to education.

Occasionally Pickle attempts to fudge the issue by voting both ways. During the 89th Congress, for instance, he opposed the repeal of 14b—but only after opposing a motion that would have killed the repeal motion. Earlier this session Pickle voted against the open housing bill, contending it should have had more study. But on the key test vote to send the bill back to committee for further study, Pickle voted no, thus moving the bill toward final passage.

"Pickle's attempted cover-ups only confuse people where he really stands on the major issues facing our nation," Gabler says. "Small wonder people are losing confidence in their government when their leaders talk and vote on both sides of the issues."

Gabler is making Pickle's support of Administration spending programs a major issue, noting that in this session alone he has opposed amendments to limit appropriations for the "War on Poverty," public works, farm programs, the post office, transportation, housing and urban development, health, education and welfare, and the space program.

The Gabler-Pickle race was enlivened

RAY GABLER

recently by the disclosure that Pickle stands to make a handsome profit from land condemnation for a federally aided reservoir project. Austin TV station KHFI disclosed that Pickle and two partners recently received a condemnation award of $193,943 for land purchased in 1959 and 1961 for less than one-third that amount.

The land was taken by the city of Austin government for an electrical generating facility that will be built largely with federal funds. KHFI newscaster Charles Stewart noted that the federal contract under which the funds were granted specifies that no member of Congress may benefit from the contract. In addition, he said, federal law and the U.S. House Code of Ethics both prohibit congressmen from benefitting from federal contracts.

KHFI offered Pickle 30 minutes of prime time to answer their charges but the lawmaker refused. Instead he issued a press release objecting to the "poisonous television broadcast" and proclaiming his innocence.

Pickle won re-election without trouble two years ago but even his key supporters admit that this year is different. Gabler has waged a tireless campaign and plans to make maximum use of television in a district that is basically conservative. John Tower carried it with 55 per cent of the vote two years ago.

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SDS Won't Give Up

Columbia: Target for New Disorders

By FREDERICK K. LOWELL

Columbia University had a generally quiet summer in sharp contrast to the violent disruptions which took place last April and May. Unpopular President Grayson Kirk retired and was replaced by Andrew W. Cordier, a former United Nations diplomat. The administration made an effort to soothe tensions by making major concessions to the radicals on campus. Yet all through the summer, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) worked hard to make sure that the revolution they had inflicted on the university would not die when classes resumed.

The revolution has survived the summer. The political composition of the campus remains unchanged; it is still made up of two minorities and a majority. One of these minorities is the radical group, led by SDS. These are the students who seized the buildings last spring and who are dedicated to the destruction of the present university and, in some cases, the destruction of American society as well.

The other minority is much less organized. It is made up of campus moderates and conservatives, athletes and members of various fraternities; they are opposed to everything SDS stands for. Many of these students were members of the Majority Coalition, the group which last spring surrounded one of the occupied buildings, refusing the demonstrators access to any food or supplies.

Finally, in the middle, there exists the great liberal majority of students, slightly leftist, who have proven very susceptible to SDS tactics. Originally they were shocked by the SDS occupation of the buildings, but when the administration sent in the police to restore order, this seemed to shock them even more. They subsequently joined the SDS strike on classes, seemingly unaware that SDS had forced the police confrontation to seduce the liberals to the SDS side.

The administration has attempted to gain the support of the liberal students by showing them that Cordier's administration is itself liberal (which it is). The administration, in meeting SDS's demands, has: urged leniency for those demonstrators charged with criminal trespass, has stopped the construction of the controversial university gymnasium in Morningside Park pending talks with the Harlem community; has severed the institutional ties with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA).

And in a final attempt to appease the SDS fire, President Cordier recently announced the reinstatement of 42 of the 73 students suspended from the university last spring for their part in the demonstrations.

Unfortunately, while these moves pleased the liberals, they had no effect whatsoever on the SDS.

True to character, the SDS replied with a set of new expanded demands based on the old ones. Some of these demands reached new heights of absurdity; for example:

"Demand 2d— The university must abolish the School of International Affairs and the regional Institutes. The new building should be completed and converted into low-rent housing as indemnity to the community."

Dr. Andrew W. Cordier, acting president of Columbia University, confronts students on the embattled campus as classes open. The militant SDS wants to disrupt classes again, but there are signs that the radicals' influence is waning.

By the time this year's freshman class arrived, it was evident that the SDS had every intention of continuing its fight from where it left off last spring.

On September 18 a week of freshman orientation began. Along with the usual hoopla provided by the Columbia University Band and the welcoming speeches, there was a strong effort on the part of SDS to gain the support of the freshmen. The SDS ran a "counter orientation" which consisted of SDS-led tours of the campus and several rallies. But the new students did not seem terribly impressed.

That night the freshmen were addressed by the dean of the college, Carl F. Hovde. In the middle of his address an SDS heckler shouted out, "What about IDA?" When Dean Hovde suggested that this interruption was a sign of contempt for all present, the freshmen gave Dean Hovde a standing ovation, drowning out the heckler. Thus far, the SDS had failed to stir up the spirit of last spring.

The next day was the day the college sophomores were to register for the fall semester. Registration was taking place in the gymnasium, and the administration, fearing a disruption, had stationed campus Security Police near the building to check all those who entered.

The SDS scheduled a rally at noon which was well attended by both supporters and spectators. An hour of speakers followed, including a professor who urged the radicals on, but who strangely never joined the disruption that was to follow himself. The group of protestors finally announced what everyone knew was coming—that they would attempt to register the 21 students still suspended by the university.

Led by Mark Rudd, they marched to the gymnasium where the proctor of the university, William Kahn, informed them that they could not enter and disrupt registration, but that if they wished to send in some representatives, a member of the dean's staff would speak with them. They shouted and cursed that proposal down while a line of campus Security Guards barred the door.

Kahn then told the demonstrators that they had 15 minutes to disperse. The protestors decided to stay.

A few minutes later, Rudd and the demonstrators surged forward and scuffled with Security Police. They grabbed one guard's billy club and managed to take it away from him after pulling him to the ground. When another hit a demonstrator with a club, the protestors fell back. One female member of the SDS shouted gleefully, "It's another Chicago!"

Minutes later Proctor Kahn emerged. Since it was now 15 minutes past the deadline he had set for the SDS to disperse, many in the crowd of spectators expected him to announce that some kind of action would now be taken against the demonstrators. Instead, he informed Rudd and his friends that registration would be closed down for the day.

Once again, as in the spring, the administration had backed down. By allowing a group of protestors to close down registration, the administration, to appease the SDS, had sacrificed the rights of those who wished to register.

Later in the day, however, President Cordier apparently decided that he had let the SDS get away with too much, and he retracted permission for the SDS-sponsored International Revolutionary Assembly to use McMillin Theater that night. The radicals made the next move by illegally entering Schermerhorn Hall and holding their assembly there. Later that night they paraded around campus with red flags in apparent victory. The administration had taken no action when they entered Schermerhorn Hall.

It was at this point that the SDS managed to re-kindle the revolutionary fervor of last spring. It is evident that though the radicals themselves are somewhat divided, there is still widespread support on campus for their cause.

At this writing, it appears that the next disruption will come sometime before or on Thursday, September 26, the day classes are scheduled to begin. The disruption may be a student strike on classes or it may be something more serious. The SDS is still very well organized. Its ally, the Students for a Restructured University (SRU) can be expected to co-operate with the SDS on everything except the confrontations. The only major organization opposed to the SDS is the Students for Columbia University (SCU) which has so far failed to organize effectively.

The administration still hopes to gain the support of the liberal majority and thus isolate the SDS. There is a possibility that this will succeed. Many liberals are fed up with the SDS and wish to return to class. But one cannot help suspecting that if the police have to be called in again this semester, the liberals once again will be swayed to the left.

The fall semester at Columbia, then, begins on a note of pessimism. The administration, it seems, still has not learned that if one feeds the tiger, he will only return the next time he is hungry. The faculty shows no signs of playing a strong role. The students are divided and many are strangely passive toward the events which have occurred.

Few people seem to realize that the radicals at Columbia are political segregationists: Their aim is to segregate people on the basis of their point of view, while making sure that their own view is dominant. Their tactics, militant and totalitarian, are only a reflection of their philosophy.

Last spring they deprived Columbia of its academic freedom. If they are allowed to do it again, it will not only be due to their militancy and tactics; it will also be due to an administration that has so far failed to stand up against them.

Mr. Lowell is a sophomore at Columbia majoring in government. He was a member of the Majority Coalition and currently is a member of the Students for Columbia University (SCU).

Does Warren Think Fortas Cause Lost?

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The Senate began its long-stalled Fortas debate last week, but as far as Chief Justice Earl Warren is concerned this bitter battle over his successor already is over—and lost.

The 77-year-old jurist has quietly resumed the administrative functions he laid aside last June when he proposed retiring in favor of Abe Fortas as chief justice.

When the new term of the Supreme Court opens Monday, October 7, Warren will again be in his old chair as chief justice. In preparation for that he is now presiding over the so-called judicial conference that considers briefs of cases and other matters that will be considered by the high tribunal.

Thus, in effect, Warren is unofficially signifying what is conceded on all sides: that there is virtually no chance of Fortas being confirmed to succeed him.

Despite the most strenuous backstage and other efforts, President Johnson has been unable to muster sufficient support for his heatedly controversial nominee to impose cloture on the Senate. Without such a limitation on debate, Fortas cannot be confirmed. The bipartisan opposition, including some liberals, is too strong to be silenced without invoking cloture.

It is not generally realized that there are liberals in the bipartisan ranks opposing Fortas. Foremost among them are Senators Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) and Ralph Yarborough (D.-Tex.).

When the Supreme Court reconvenes October 7, one of the first things it will do will be to slap down one of its own members—Justice William O. Douglas.

Deemed a virtual certainty will be the tribunal's curt reversal of the stay Douglas granted September 12 to 113 Ohio reservists ordered to Viet Nam. They are members of a supply unit.

Prior to this last-minute reprieve, the reservists had been turned down by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Hugo Black.

Douglas' stay was a clear-cut instance of personal bias deciding a judgment.

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The Radical Background of Michigan's New Democratic National Committeeman

Big man in today's Democratic party in Michigan is possibly the most hostile, adroit and evasive witness ever to confront a congressional committee inquiring into Communist activities in the United States.

By unanimous vote, State Sen. Coleman A. Young, of Detroit, was chosen by Michigan's delegation at the Chicago convention to be national committeeman and, as such, chief dispenser of political patronage in the state and a strong voice in the formulation of policies of the Democratic national organization. He is also the first Negro committeeman to be named in any state.

Young's stormy career in politics led nowhere for some years and defeat at the polls appears to have been accepted by him as quite plausible—until he was elected a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1961-62.

Subsequently, in 1964, he was elected to the state senate and re-elected in 1966, serving meanwhile as a salaried representative of the Michigan AFL-CIO Council. He will keep his seat in the legislature, where the AFL-CIO Council, through its president, Gus Scholle, maintains a powerful labor lobby, watching, sometimes dictating, legislation.

During a recount after one of Young's earlier lost efforts to gain public office, a volunteer observer, State Rep. James Del Rio, says that Young resignedly commented:

"They'll always be able to beat me because I'm the top Communist in Michigan!"

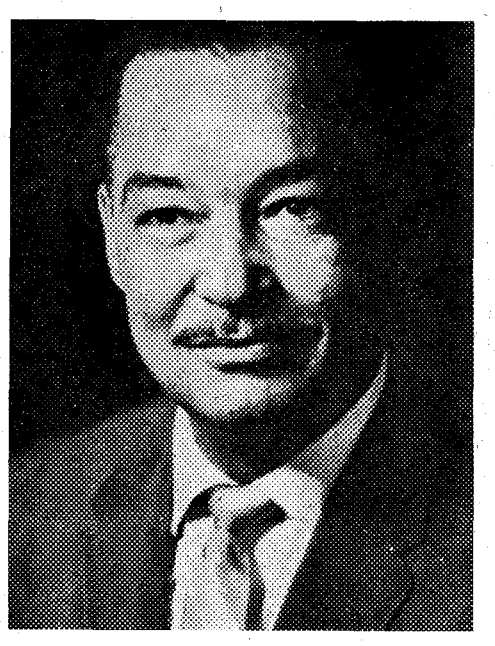
Was Young merely kidding? Del Rio says he doesn't think so. But for the record, Young has always stood on his constitutional right that his political beliefs and the identity of his associates are his private business.

The new national committeeman made this clear during the 1952 hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Detroit's Federal Building, adding: "I have no purpose of being here as a stool pigeon."

Young was asked about his connection with the National Negro Labor Council, which was cited as a subversive organization by HCUA when Rep. Francis E. Walter (Pa.) was its chairman. The NNLC was described as "one of the Communist fronts currently active in seeking to deceive American Negroes into serving the Communist cause" and of having been organized "under the direction of leading Negro Communists in the United States, such as Abner Berry, Sam W. Parks and Coleman A. Young."

The citation said that Young served as full-time national executive secretary "from which post he controls and directs NNLC activites. A study of the operation of the council shows that, rather than helping the Negro worker, it has been a deterrent to him."

The NNLC was further described by the Senate Judiciary Committee in its 1956 "Handbook for Americans" as "a front formed to provoke racial friction"



Democratic leader Coleman Young, with a long history of leftist activities, wants to run for mayor of Detroit.

and was earlier cited as subversive by former Atty. Gen. Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board.

At the Detroit hearings, Frank S. Tavenner Jr., HCUA committee counsel, replied to Young's 5th Amendment dodges.

"I have asked you no question regarding your individual views," Tavenner said. "I asked if you knew of any activities of the Communist party in this [Detroit] community which might be of some assistance to this committee in its investigation. I understood from your statement that you would like to help us out."

"You have me mixed up with a stool pigeon," Young replied.

The record of the hearing continues:

Young: "I refuse to allow this committee to pry into my personal and private opinions. I got some opinion on it [the Korean War], however."

Tavenner: "Let me see if your opinions have been private in that respect. According to the *Daily Worker* of July 24, 1950, you signed a statement issued by the Council on African Affairs [Cited by the Justice Department as a Communist front—Ed.] against the U.S. policy in Korea. Is that correct?"

Young: "I refuse to answer any such question. In view of the hysteria stirred up by this committee, answering these questions might amount to testifying against myself."

The then Rep. Charles Potter (Mich.), later U.S. senator, interjected: "Today there are 104,000 casualties in Korea, testifying to this fact of hysteria you so blandly mention. A cold-blooded conspiracy is killing American boys and you, as a member of the Communist party of the United States, are just as much a part of the international conspiracy as the Communists of North Korea who are killing men there."

Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin, a nurse who was an undercover agent in the Communist party for the FBI for nine years, testified that Young attended a class on Marxist-Lenin education taught in Detroit by a Dr. James E. Jackson in 1947 and that the class was open only to party members.

As recording secretary for District 7 (Detroit) for the party, she said she recalled that Young was "a regular visitor . . . it seemed he had various problems that came up with the Progressive party and he would want to take up with the leaders of the Communist party. He held many meetings there."

Young was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala., in 1918 and went to high school in Detroit. He said in his testimony that he was fired from a post office job in Detroit for trying to organize a union and then went into the Army Air Force during World War II, training as a second lieutenant at a Southern camp. He said he was under house arrest for three days ("in *your* country," he reminded a committee member) for trying to get served in an officer's club restricted to white officers.

Back in Detroit, he was re-employed by the postal service but quit when he could not get leave of absence to work for the International Union of United Public Workers. (This union was ousted by the CIO in 1950 as Communist-dominated.)

Young in 1947 and 1948 was organizational director for the Wayne County (Detroit) CIO-AFL Council, but was fired when he joined the Progressive party of Michigan and directed its activities to support Henry Wallace in the campaign against Harry Truman, who had CIO support. Young also lost out for the state senate on the Progressive ticket and ran unsuccessfully for Detroit city councilman. Finally elected state senator in 1964, however, he immediately was given a salaried job in the speakers' bureau of the state AFL-CIO.

State capitol observers claim that Young was elected national committeeman at Chicago after a deal with Detroit's Democratic mayor, Jerome Cavanagh.

Detroit members of the legislature shied away from enabling legislation that permitted the Detroit city council to increase the city income tax from 1 to 2 per cent, but Sen. Young was induced to sponsor the bill, alone, and over the opposition of the Detroit delegation. Once introduced, the vote of unaffected out-state legislators assured passage of the bill.

"As a reward for helping to bail out Cavanagh and his city budget and deficit spending problems, Young was promised the top party job," said Rep. Del Rio. "He was also promised membership on the New Detroit Committee [a citizens' group dealing with crime and other inner-city problems] and policy changes in police administration."

Young has been critical of the mayor's support of the police "stop-and-frisk" rule, saying Negroes would be the chief "victims" of the rule.

Now riding high in the Democratic party and with the powers of party, legislative and union positions, Young may get into next year's race for mayor of Detroit.

He said last week that if he does not run himself, he would support either Congressman John Conyers, Councilman Nicholas Hood, or Recorder's Judge George W. Crockett, who defended the 11 top leaders of the Communist party in the U.S. in the New York trials, with Young protesting against the indictments by picketing at the Federal Building in Detroit. Crockett was Young's counsel in the HCUA hearings.

But whoever the next mayor is, Young said, "he'll have to be forceful enough to take on the Detroit Police Officers Association. If we don't curb the police, they'll curb us. Our police department is shot through with Klansmen, Birchers and Breakthrough supporters [a Detroit right-wing group]."

"Of course," added Young, "we can't be sure of the practicality of a black mayor until after November. Humphrey should stop fumbling around and trying to be all things to all men. But regardless of how weak Humphrey is, he's ours, and we can shape him."

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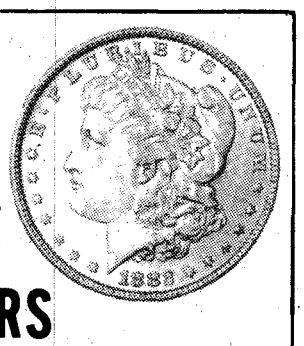

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Will USSR Again Have to Crush Hungary?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

I deliver herewith a message to me from eight anti-Communist leaders of the Hungarian underground, with whom I have met previously—and know favorably—in Budapest. As do similar heroes in Cuba, they speak for all who pound at closed gates and bathe the barbed wire in tears.

They make it clear that Czech resentments against the Soviet reconquest of Czechoslovakia are now erupting behind the scenes with unrevealed backlash force in satellite Hungary.

Hungarian memories of the horrible 1956 Soviet armed purge in Hungary are not short. More than 35,000 dead and wounded are the monument to that slaughter. Red chief Janos Kadar, infamous for his help to the Soviet in crushing the revolt, is still in command, and when Kadar ordered Hungarian troops to join in the Soviet reconquest of Czechoslovakia he reignited all the Hungarian memories—and much more.

The underground newspapers are now challenging Kadar with a success that smacks of the similar first steps in Prague last spring.

Kadar's government deported to Siberia more than 75,000 Freedom Fighters who survived the 1956 revolt. Among these were 7,000 girls 14 to 18 years old. After 12 years they are still in Siberia. No one knows what has happened to 13,000 of the other 68,000 deportees. The underground newspapers inform the people that about 50,000 are still alive. And, locally, 463 without the slightest criminal record remain in the Central Prison in Budapest.

Among those seized were 152 youths not executed because of their age. Of these, 144 were hanged in the Central Prison yard, one by one, when each reached his or her 18th birthday. Eight received commuted sentences which they are still serving.

Dr. Tibor Pakh is a Budapest intellectual. In 1960 he addressed an entreaty for general clemency to the United Nations in New York. He was arrested for this. Kadar offered to release Dr. Pakh if he would retract this embarrassment to the Red government. The brave scholar refused. Kadar threw Dr. Pakh, too, into Central Prison.

He was put in solitary confinement. Political prisoners in Hungary must pay for their own food in jail. Dr. Pakh was designated for what is called the "fourth ration." This limits payments to 60 forints a month. In effect, the 60 forints-limit ration can provide only bread, water and a meat-vegetable slop.

If Kadar frees the prisoners and repatriates the deportees, as the underground newspapers and the reignited recalcitrant groups are demanding, he's in trouble with Moscow. If he refuses he faces the prospect of popular protests similar to those that ousted Czech stooge President Antonin Novotny.

The Danubian garrison city of Szolnok is the headquarters for the Soviet Red Army in Hungary. A mechanized division now stands there in the Central Reserve. Another division rings the 1.2-million policed people of Budapest. Two more face the Czech frontier. These troops total 60,000. Eleven airdromes are now activated to house the Soviet tactical air force, geared to the occupation infantry and tanks.

Red officers and men alike get four hours of political indoctrination a week. Throughout Hungary their barracks have a "Lenin room," now showing posters condemning the United States in Viet Nam. These are flanked by anti-Western cartoons and the permanent slogan: "Forward to the victory of communism."

To the Czechs and Hungarians, "The Russians Are Coming" is more than just a movie. Above, Prague students storm Red Army tanks just as Magyar youths did in Budapest 12 years ago. Many Hungarians feel a repeat performance may be in the offing.

The dreaded Hungarian secret police, the AVH, are now entirely Soviet controlled, which is another problem for Kadar. The underground finds that since Moscow's Czech move the AVH has been coordinated with, and is being largely trained by, the Czech S.T.B. (*Statui Bezpencnost*) secret police, which the new Red Army chiefs in Czechoslovakia command, and the *Stasi*, the East German equivalent.

The security has been tightened around Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty by the AVH, which has thrown a ring around the two street-sides of our embassy where his eminence remains in sanctuary on the third floor.

From the day of his elevation to Cardinal, Cardinal Mindszenty—now 76—has spent 85 per cent of his life in confinement. He has two sisters who come often to our embassy and sometimes stroll within the enclosed garden.

The story of this Hungarian hero is in many ways the story of the Hungarian people, confirmed anew now by my underground friends. Confinement of the body can never fully mean confinement of the spirit.

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ANSWERS THESE KEY QUESTIONS:

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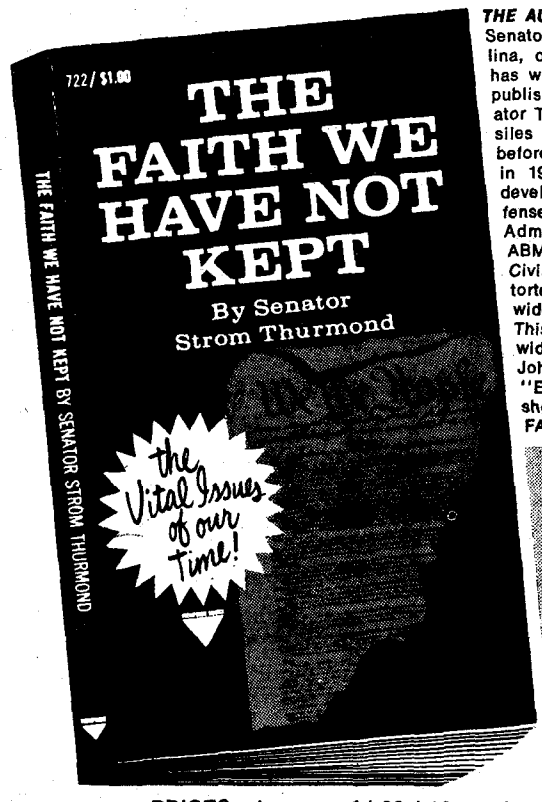
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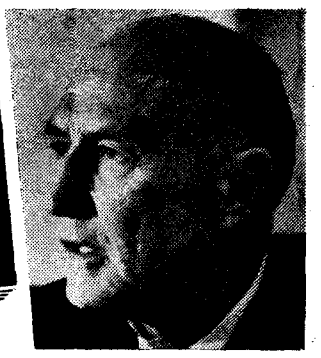

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'Revolutionizing' the Streets

Federal Poverty Officials Use Working Time to Discredit U.S.

By VICTOR RIESEL

Long before the hippies, Yippies and Mobilizers hit the streets to "radicalize" the citizenry, there were directors of the Office of Economic Opportunity who, quite skillfully, directed poverty workers to go out and "revolutionize" the nation's ghettos.

This community action formula was developed by two former labor officials appointed by Ambassador to France Sargent Shriver, the OEO director.

The labor men have gone. But their policy lingers on amid turbulence, violence, tumultuous mass picketing, and disruption of child care, poverty counseling, clean-up of slum streets and training of the hard-core jobless. I charge this flatly.

The labor officials nonchalantly referred to their policy of education-in-revolution as "Go fight City Hall." There is at least one communication in the OEO files to this effect—unless it has been destroyed or its dossier moved along with the itinerant labor men.

Thus hundreds of thousands of dollars, perhaps millions, have been and are being poured into this revolutionary street-action tactic. Poverty executives, some earning from $15,000 to $30,000 annually, spend their time confronting, frequently battling the police, picketing city halls and boards of education, closing down schools, struggling with union workers, and actually discrediting the U.S. in the presence of foreign statesmen.

These poverty specialists draw sizeable salaries while smearing their employer—the federal government.

A week ago I explained all this to an OEO official. In detail I reported the following Kafkaesque "incident":

The city of New York had invited 84 world leaders in the country for a U.N. social welfare conference, to take a walking tour of the metropolis on September 11. The intent was to show the government leaders from all continents—including Africa—the "best and worst" of our society. Fifty prestigious delegates from 50 nations accepted and turned out.

They were driven out to the city's uproarious Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, where the black decentralized local school governing board is battling the United Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), the largest local union in the land.

The U.N. delegates from nations reaching from Norway to Uganda went into the Brownsville Community Council headquarters. This is a federally funded, OEO subsidiary.

There they were suddenly told by a local poverty executive that they would soon hear from a grandmother's own lips how she was beaten by the police—New York's, not Chicago's, gendarmerie. Before the weeping woman was brought on stage, the world delegates were informed curtly that the tour was off. There just was nothing to see at the child care centers or other poverty offices, clinics and counseling services. The centers had been shut down.

Why? Because, said the OEO executive director, the 400 poverty counselors and workers were out demonstrating against the police.

Thus, the foreign visitors—on whose governments we spend hundreds of millions of U.S. Information Agency dollars for good will and imagery—were sent back to their hotels believing that here fighting poverty means fighting.

This is the impression, it seems to me, willfully given by the OEO executives. In effect, one federally funded agency was not only discrediting the government which provides it with millions, but also negating the work of another federal agency.

Furthermore, the poverty officials—most of the district's 400—were accomplishing their august mission on government time. But this disturbs them not. They have been picketing, terrorizing, howling at city officials and the boards of education for months.

These poverty counselors earn from $175 to $225 a week, depending on their training and education, if you'll forgive me the expression. Their leaders earn from $15,000 to $20,000 annually. The latter have assistants at pay ranging from $11,000 to $14,000. And in most big cities the central executive director is in charge and receives up to $30,000 a year.

All this I explained carefully in most basic English to a spokesman for the OEO national headquarters here. I told him I'd wait a week for an answer.

How could federally paid "poverty workers" be permitted to go off and demonstrate against the police? How could they be permitted to shut down child care centers? What happened to the children? How could they continue to battle the authorities day after day and still draw pay?

And how could the directors of one federal agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, permit their colleagues to discredit the work of another federal unit, the U.S. Information Agency, as well as smear the reputation of the government itself?

I have had no reply. Does no one care?

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Demonstrators are bused off to the local jail in a recent Washington, D.C., protest. But in New York, federal employes are getting into the "take-to-the-streets" game—and the taxpayer foots the bill.

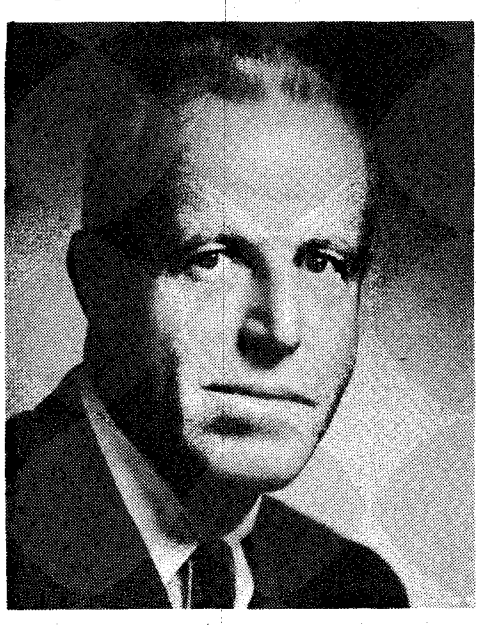
The Negro Case Against the Labor Unions

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Aviemore, Scotland:—The Republicans are not expected to get much of the Negro vote in the U.S. political campaign this autumn. But if Richard Nixon can't lure at least a few black voters away from the Democratic party, it will be because he fails to make good use of the findings of Dean Ben Rogge of the economics department of Wabash College in Indiana.

The Democratic party is pre-eminently the party of the labor unions. But the unions, for the most part, have done little to advance the cause of the Negro worker. Prof. Rogge put this squarely before prominent representatives from several nations who have been attending the Mont Pelerin Society economic conference here in the Scottish highlands.

Rogge's indictment of the unions is both contemporary and historical. On the contemporary side, he offered his colleagues a set of statistics drawn from the practices of the construction trades in New York City where, in an elevator constructors' local, there have been three Negroes among 2,300 members "and no program for Negro apprentices." A plumbers' and steamfitters' local has had as many as 16 Negroes in a total membership of 4,100; a plasterers' and masons' local has done somewhat better with 300 Negroes in a membership of 2,080.



Former Goldwater adviser Denison Kitchel, who is now working on the Nixon campaign, was among those present at the Mont Pelerin conference.

The industrial unions have not discriminated against blacks as outrageously as the unions in the construction trades. But even the industrial unions have behaved badly at times: Prof. Rogge mentions a strike in East St. Louis caused by the promotion of a Negro to crane operator, and members of the United Automobile Workers have staged work stoppages in Detroit and in Harvey, Ill., because of their resentment against the promotion of Negroes to semi-skilled jobs.

The truly interesting thing about Rogge's findings is the light they cast on the back history of union discrimination against Negroes, Chinese and other "colored" workers. The classical union excuse for not accepting black members is that they "do not like careful, disciplined work or are not capable of performing it." Rogge riddles this contention with an appeal to many disinterested observers going all the way back to colonial times.

For example, a visitor who traveled in the South at the end of the 18th Century remarked that "the principal planters in Virginia have nearly everything they can want on their estates. Amongst their slaves are found tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, turners, wheelwrights, weavers, tanners, etc." This same observer saw "patterns of excellent woollen cloth made in the country by slaves, and a variety of cotton manufactures. . . . The work is done wholly by slaves, whose members are in this part of the country more than double that of white persons." So what becomes of the cliche that Negroes can't do "disciplined work"?

Coming down to post-Civil War times, Rogge quotes an observer of the 1880s, Charles B. Rousseve: "The Negro, who in antebellum days performed all types of labor, skilled and unskilled, found himself gradually eliminated from the various trades."

The early craft unions were the villains; even Sam Gompers, the great man of early union organization, did little to stop discrimination. There was strong-arm work on the New Orleans levees, where Negro workers were driven from their jobs "at the muzzle of loaded rifles." W.E.B. DuBois, the Negro intellectual leader, noted in 1902 that 43 national unions, including a big railroad brotherhood, did not have a single Negro on their membership rolls. As late as 1943, the railroad brotherhoods had "Caucasian only" clauses in their constitutions. The "guild exclusiveness" is breaking down today, but, as Rogge says, the acceptance of Negroes is not remarkable for either its volume or its speed.

Nixon advisers are present at this Mont Pelerin meeting; indeed, Prof. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago came here almost directly from the big Nixon staff conference at San Diego in California. Another political observer here is Denny Kitchel, the old Goldwater adviser.

It is a safe bet that such good campaign fodder as the Rogge report on discrimination against Negroes in the trade unions will find its way as "research" into the Nixon entourage's hands. Meetings such as this one at Aviemore are for the discovery of truth, but since truth has its political value the scholars are in politics these days whether they intend it that way or not.

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Justice Again Aids Reservists

Douglas Seems Determined to Kill the Draft

By JERRY GREENE

What Supreme Court Justice William Douglas is really after, in blocking shipment of reserve units to Viet Nam, is a chance to kill the draft. He made this clear in a dissenting opinion last May, and he won't quit trying.

It is obvious, if past performance is any indicator, that the Supreme Court will junk the Douglas restraining writs when it convenes on October 7.

But the "incalculable and irreparable mischief" done by Douglas in his back-door maneuver will linger long afterward in the Army in the form of damage to morale and to carefully dovetailed plans for the support or relief of troops already in the combat zone.

The "incalculable and irreparable mischief" tag was hung on the Douglas action by Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D.-La.) in a letter of protest to Chief Justice Earl Warren. Hebert is chairman of a House Armed Services subcommittee handling reserves affairs.

Douglas lit the fuse on September 12 when he issued a stop order on the movement of 113 soldiers, members of a supply and services company, from the Cleveland area, pending a hearing on October 7.

Both Chief Justice Warren and Justice Hugo Black had refused any such stay.

Once the word got around, the results were inevitable. On September 23, Douglas granted stays for two more reserve units—again after Warren had declined.

The next day the Pentagon had reports that still more reservists, in Colorado, were working up similar petitions. There'll be more by the 25th.

The basis for all of the complaints is the same one laid out by Douglas in his dissent to the draft card burning case decided by a 7-to-1 vote of the court last May.

The protesters contend that President Johnson had no constitutional authority to call them to active duty without a declaration of war.

The specific target of the pending lawsuits is an act of Congress in 1966 which granted the President exactly this authority.

In the opinion of last May upholding the conviction of draft card burner David Paul O'Brien, Chief Justice Warren wrote that "the constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies and to make all laws necessary and proper to that end is broad and sweeping."

Douglas said that this conclusion might be true in time of war. But the "underlying and basic problem," Douglas said, was whether conscription itself was legal without a declaration of war by Congress. He said the country was entitled to a ruling on this issue and that "it is time that we made a ruling."

With this invitation tossed to the skies, the only wonder is that it took the anti-war contingent so long to work up a lawsuit. Perhaps the 7-to-1 vote on draft card burning was a cooling factor.

It is scarcely a secret that the armed services reserves constitute one of the Defense Department's most persistent and costly headaches. The problem is historic. It has been particularly disburbing since World War II. Some outfits have been gung-ho, eager for action. Some have been pretty sorry. The mobilization in 1962 when the Berlin Wall was built was a painful lesson in futility—although this assembly was far better than anything which had been done before.

It is no classified matter either that the reserve programs, such as that offering six months' active duty, then service in a drill-paid outfit, have offered a haven from the draft. The draft is an accepted stimulus for National Guard enlistments.

The Douglas card burning dissent and his recent writs have opened the way for an attack on the entire military system which is obviously what he wanted. So the air will be filled with arguments on October 7.

The war protesters, under the Douglas invitation, will have a free-swinging opportunity to challenge the works—the legality of the Viet Nam war and the institution of the draft itself.

There was never any real issue about the intent of Congress when it enacted the law in 1966 authorizing the President to call up reserves. Nor was there ever much doubt about the authority of the President to send troops to Viet Nam. On the floor of the Senate on Aug. 6 1964, in debate on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, no less an authority than Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said that the measure would not prevent the landing of "large American armies in Viet Nam or in China. . . it would authorize whatever the commander-in-chief feels necessary. . . ."

As of today, there are 13 Army reserve units with 2,400 men serving in Viet Nam. And not all of those awaiting shipment needed the services of Justice Douglas.

Down at Fort Lee, Va., where two reserve units have men who petitioned the court, another outfit—the 842nd Quartermaster Company from Kansas City—posted in front of its billet a sign bearing this legend:

"This former reserve unit is made up of 237 loyal, tax-paying citizens. The average man in this company is 25 years old, has 14½ years education, earned $11,000 a year, is married, with children, owns two cars and his own home and paid $2,000 in taxes annually. This they gave up to serve their nation on active duty. 'No sacrifice too great, no mission too difficult, no task too hard. Duty first'."

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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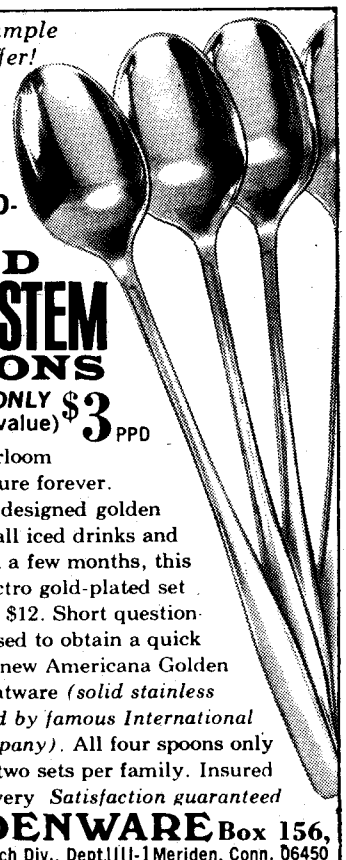

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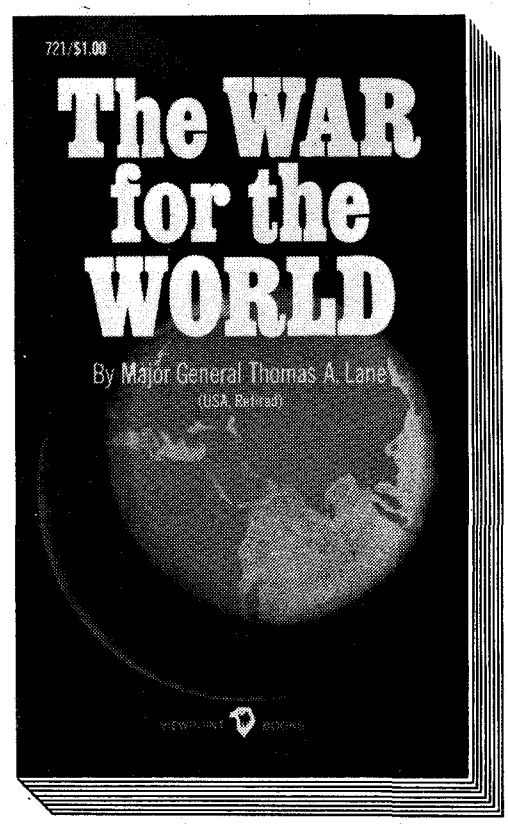

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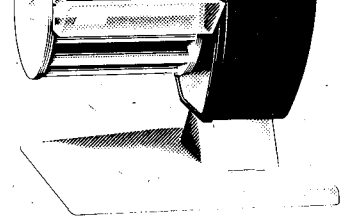

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Educational Jargon Keeps Rolling Along

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Get a grip on yourself. Today we take a look at one of the things that is wrong with education. Did you ever hear of something called "pedagese"? Here's an example:

"With the proliferation of allegations promulgating an either/or attitude toward the use of textbooks in elementary school studies, it is well to ponder both the pros and cons of propensities to vindicate the one contention while repudiating the other. To asseverate a denial of value for either orientation is not the point. To relate the utility and soundness in the use of multifarious resources is the intent."

Translation by your kindly columnist: "A good teacher does not depend solely upon a textbook."

I was inspired to bring you the latest blooms in the garden of educational jargon by two timely happenings:

1. The Council for Basic Education has some recent and fascinating findings which I would like to share with you, and

2. It's getting on toward Hallowe'en, and I wanted to put you in the mood.

The "big words" in 1968, according to CBE, were "relevant" and "relevancy." Their popularity apparently stemmed from education's current obsession with immediacy, a fixation which if allowed to burgeon unchallenged will eventually eliminate from the curriculum everything that happened more than five years ago.

Here are a few more flawed gems from CBE's semantic diamond mine, with my own somewhat jaundiced definitions appended:

"Paraprofessional"—a mom who helps teacher collect the lunch money.

"Resource center"—a library with a film projector.

"Media co-ordinator"—anybody who can work a tape recorder.

My own research recently turned up the perfectly ghastly word "descriptor," and I refuse to define it because I just ate lunch.

A few years back, the jargon was different, but just as bad. "Togetherness." "Routinizing" a practice. "Overviewing" its results. "Auding" a recitation instead of listening to it.

Ugh! Why do we teachers indulge in such unspeakable terminological orgies! Are we doomed by the very nature of our ancient calling to go through life babbling about "learner-center merged curricula" and "empirically validated learning packages"?

I think not.

We talk this way largely because we have a feeling of occupational inadequacy. We build ourselves up at the expense of the unwashed non-in-group by inventing our own brand of Pig Latin which nobody can understand except us.

Unconsciously, we rationalize this way: "We don't get paid much. In some places we lack prestige. Doctors and lawyers, on the other hand, are paid plenty, and they have prestige coming out of their ears. Notably, too, these prestigious practitioners have their own professional jargon. Ergo, if we teachers can develop a sufficiently exotic terminology, we, too, will be paid and well thought of."

Sorry, fellow pedagogs. It won't work. Other professions may hide behind the incense fumes and the temple chants of gobbledygook because they do not have the solemn charge laid upon them by the very nature of their calling to make themselves clear at any cost.

We do.

Indeed, if a teacher doesn't make himself understood above and beyond everything else he tries to do, he's in the wrong profession, as out of place as Barry Goldwater in a hippie pad. So, as the campus activists so earnestly and so ungrammatically say, let's "tell it like it is." And this means telling it as simply and as clearly and as understandably as we possibly can.

People don't listen to us teachers in order to become even more confused than they are already. They rely on educators to clear up confusion, not to foul up the atmosphere with more high-sounding smog, like so many educational smudge pots.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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IN SELF DEFENSE—"Not the entire story was told when the President announced recently that nuclear energy may be used in the construction of a new sea-level canal in Central America. Before use of nuclear energy is possible, the United States of America will likely have to ask permission of the scores of nations which signed a treaty against atomic contamination of the atmosphere. It means that scores of nations, including the Soviet Union, will have a say in our hemisphere business. It gives us something to think about also in the proposed treaty to prevent nuclear proliferation—which would give scores of nations a say in our defense matters."—From the San Diego *Union*

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How the NLRB Has Flouted the Will of Congress

From the Arizona *Republic*

When Congress was considering the Taft-Hartley bill in 1947, Sen. Joseph Ball, a principal supporter of the bill, said: "The rights guaranteed to employes . . . could be made a complete dead letter overnight by a National Labor Relations Board that was so inclined."

Sylvester Petro, professor at New York University's School of Law, says that events have borne out Sen. Ball's fears.

In a pamphlet prepared for the American Conservative Union, Prof. Petro makes it clear that the NLRB has over the last 20 years arrogantly flouted the will of Congress, eroded the rights of employes, and dealt a stacked deck to employers.

In decision after decision, writes Petro in "An Effective Labor Policy for the United States," the NLRB has turned upside down and inside out the congressional policy favoring free employe choice. Furthermore:

• Whereas Congress granted special protection to the free speech rights of employers in order to make sure that employes hear both sides in union organizational campaigns, the NLRB has steadily constricted those free speech rights;

• Whereas the Taft-Hartley Act made plain that representation elections were the preferred means of establishing employe desires with respect to unionization, the NLRB has forced collective bargaining on the basis of authorization cards, sometimes denying elections and at other times defying election results against union representation;

• The NLRB has held that an employer is guilty if he grants innocuous benefits, even unconditionally, during an organizational campaign;

• It held, in the General Electric case and others, that even when an employer bargains in good faith he commits an unfair practice if he refuses to make concessions to the union;

• It has so corrupted the collective bargaining principle, in its single-minded program of making collective bargaining an instrument of industrial conquest for unions, that no specialist in the field even pretends to understand the law as fashioned by the board.

In short, the NLRB is a political monopoly that denies constitutional due process. Therefore, Petro recommends that Congress provide that persons injured by violations of the National Labor Relations Act may go directly to the courts for relief (which they may not now do).

Further, he recommends that the NLRB be replaced by the federal district courts, which are substantially insulated against political pressures. Only that way, he says, can we rid ourselves of the kangaroo court which has used compulsion, coercion and unjust and unequal application of the laws for partisan political ends.

□□□

TOP DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS concede that as of now Hubert Humphrey would trail both Richard Nixon and George Wallace in electoral votes. Recent surveys give Humphrey only seven "solid" votes—four from Rhode Island, three from the District of Columbia.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Grave Defense Dangers

By REP. WILLIAM H. BATES (R.-Mass.)

People talk about detentes. They talk about us weakening our defense so that the Soviets will reign throughout the world. To those people who are so inclined, let me say to them, "Look at Czechoslovakia. Look back to the days of Hungary, and so far as communism itself is concerned, remember the *Pueblo*. . . ."

It takes a special measure of faith in the gullibility of the free world, if we do not look at the world situation today as accurately as the situation demands and do what is required to protect this country of ours.

I do not wish to be dramatic, but I take no comfort in the knowledge that the Soviets have a fighter called the "Foxbat" which is five years ahead of anything we have in the United States or in the free world.

I do not feel secure when I know that the Soviets have increased their merchant force by 500 per cent while ours has decreased by 26 per cent.

I do not feel very comfortable when I realize that during the last two years the Soviets have tripled the number of ballistic missiles which they have. And I do not feel very safe either when I read the words of Adm. Rickover that he would prefer the Soviet submarine force as is and as planned over that which we have in the United States.

I do not know how many times speakers have come down into the well of the House and, if they ever did any boasting about any aspect of our military strength, they did so in the field of our nuclear submarines. But now the father of our nuclear submarines has warned us and has warned the nation that the program that we presently have is inadequate and something must be done about it.

It is time for us to wake up. In all the time I have been in Congress, now 19 years, our relative strength with the Soviets has never been weaker, and with each passing year our relative strength becomes more so. I do not believe it does much good to sit down and negotiate with the Soviets, to write strong letters of protest to them, unless our pleas and our demands are backed up by a strong military power. Somehow during the last few years too many have been satisfied with mere parity.

Reds Peril NATO

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

We have little time now to lament for the death of Czech aspirations. We must become aware of the changed balance of power in Central Europe. The psychological balance of power has changed because of the suddenness of the Soviet move. No one can believe any longer that Soviet behavior is "predictable." No one can believe that the Soviets are truly peace-loving. The only predictions which have come true are those which have steadfastly maintained that the Soviets will violate any agreement or any commitment when it suits their interest. However, not only the psychological balance of power has changed. The Soviets now have troops concentrated on the Western border, a dagger thrust at NATO. Competent estimates say that the Soviets have nearly twice as many troops in Central Europe as NATO. Our divisions are under-manned and under-equipped. We have refrained from concentrating forces or holding maneuvers on the West German border, leaving a tempting power vacuum next to Czechoslovakia and Berlin exposed. In retrospect, the Soviet harassments against Berlin, the verbal attacks on German internal affairs, and the drive to weaken Germany's defense posture and alliances take on a more menacing aspect.

Liberal Press Advice

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

The Senate should—if some Delphic oracles of public media are to be believed—feel like a recalcitrant schoolboy who has stubbornly resisted doing the sums handed out by editorial educators and is now being lectured at every turn.

We suffer from an awesome plethora of too much advice.

First comes the New York *Times* telling the Senate that we will miss the last chance to save humanity if the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is not ratified immediately. Perhaps the *Times* has information leading it to believe that the world will end Friday afternoon at 1:42 Eastern Daylight Time if its advice is not followed; otherwise I find it hard to appreciate its handwringing in public print.

Next comes the attorney general, hand delivering a message to each Senate office telling us what we must do about gun control. So far as I know the function of the attorney general is to enforce the law, not lobby for its enactment. It seems to me that Atty. Gen. Clark has a generous-sized job on his hands attending to those duties authorized by Congress without undertaking to deliver a lecture on the perils the nation faces if Mr. Clark's opinions are not inscribed into law.

If my mail is any indication of the public's sentiment on the particular matter, the nation is far more interested in adequate and efficient enforcement of the law we have than it is in the enactment of additional ones. I say to Mr. Clark that the Senate welcomes his advice, particularly when it has been asked for, but we have already had a complete airing of his views and heard his oft-repeated statistics before the committees of the Senate.

And finally we have the Washington *Post*—the newspaper with perhaps the most overworked tear ducts in existence. Through its editorial sniffles it directly chides this body for our supposed lack of backbone and nonexistent sense of propriety. The *Post*'s editorial writer directs us to vote immediately to take the Fortas matter out of the Judiciary Committee and place it directly before the Senate. The writer "knows" that the "Judiciary Committee has had all the time it could ever use to investigate Justice Fortas." How the editorial writer comes by this omniscience is of course a mystery to us poor mortals who are elected rather than divinely appointed to the Senate. I fear we must beg the indulgence of the *Post*, since we have no ivory tower equipped with celestial pipeline such as its editors apparently frequent.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The **Firearms Control Bill** (HR 17735), passed by the Senate early last month and by the House last July, is now in conference where differences will be ironed out. Following is a run-down of the bill's provisions, including contrasts between the House and Senate versions:

1) Mail Order Gun Sale: Both bills ban interstate mail order sale of rifles and shotguns (hand gun commerce was prohibited earlier by the Omnibus Crime Bill), with exchange between licensed dealers excepted. The Senate bill requires a sworn statement of eligibility by a prospective purchaser plus a seven-day waiting period for interstate mail order sales.

2) Over-the-Counter Sales: Both bills ban such sales to nonresidents of a state unless they come from an adjoining state and are qualified buyers in both states. The Senate bill requires both nonresident and resident buyers to sign a statement of eligibility and wait seven days.

3) Age Limits: Both bills prohibit the sale of handguns and handgun ammunition to persons under 21, and sale of rifles and shotguns to persons under 18. The Senate bill prohibits sale of rifle and shotgun ammunition to persons under 18.

4) Mail Order Ammunition Sale: Both bills ban interstate trade of handgun ammunition. The Senate bill bans such sale of rifle and shotgun ammunition.

5) Gun Collectors: Both bills exempt licensed collectors from most provisions involving mail order sales.

6) Gun Rental and Loan: Both bills allow rental of firearms for lawful sporting purposes by nonresidents of a state. The Senate bill also allows loans of firearms for the same purpose.

7) Destructive Devices: The Senate bill prohibits sale of such "destructive devices" as grenades and bazookas to unlicensed persons.

8) Penalties: Both bills provide stiffer penalties for persons convicted of federal crimes involving firearms, with the Senate's advised penalties somewhat more strict.

• The **foreign aid authorization bill** (HR 15263), as passed by the House and Senate, marks an all-time low of $1.9 billion for the controversial program; this was a full $1-billion cut from the Administration's request. Now Congress must act to actually **appropriate the foreign aid funds;** the House has already voted to appropriate only $1.6 billion and the Senate is expected to vote on the measure soon.

• The Senate has approved $19 billion in **appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare,** and related agencies, for fiscal 1969, a figure $1.8 billion more than the House had appropriated; the bill now goes to conference. The largest Senate increase over the House was $215 million more for the Office of Economic Opportunity; included in this increase were $26 million for the Head Start program and $121 million for job training programs. The Senate also provided $127 million more than the House for federal aid to elementary and secondary education.

• The Administration is pressuring Congress to exempt additional programs from the **$6-billion spending cut** that Congress demanded from LBJ when it agreed to adopt the 10 per cent surcharge tax. Acting at the request of the White House, the Senate last week voted to shield from the budget axe both the Commodity Credit Corporation and the soil conservation programs. In passing the surcharge tax/spending control measure earlier this year, Congress had already exempted from budget slicing the Viet Nam war, interest on the national debt, veterans and Social Security benefits.

• The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance has scuttled an Administration-backed proposal (S 3724) to **increase federal regulation of the mutual funds industry.** The bill, which would limit sales commissions and allow federal courts to regulate investment advisors' fees, had been passed by the Senate.

• Congress must soon act on the conference version of the bill to **extend the Administration's basic farm program** (S 3590). The conference bill extends the price support and commodity control program for one year, while the Administration had asked for a four-year extension. However, the conferees dropped a provision, added by House conservatives, to limit farm subsidies to $20,000 per year for individual farmers.

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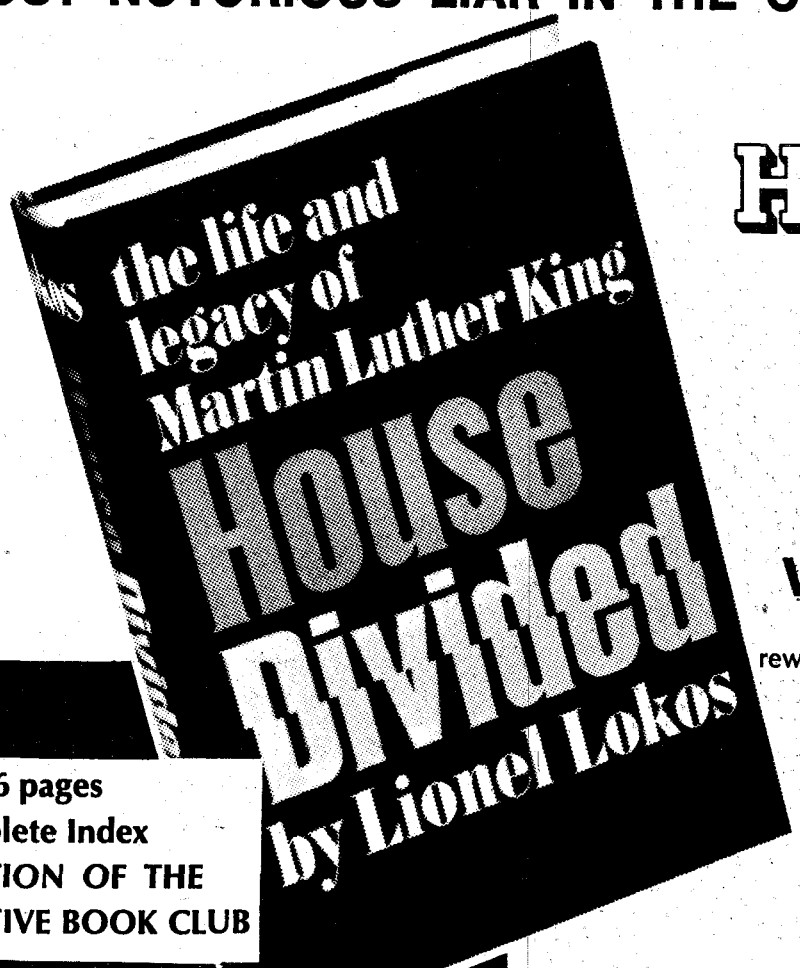
J. EDGAR HOOVER (a man not given to hysteria) CALLED MARTIN LUTHER KING "THE MOST NOTORIOUS LIAR IN THE COUNTRY." WHY?



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Documented History in this Comprehensive, Eye-Opening Volume:

- The double standard employed by Martin Luther King, who justified his own disobedience to the law in the most moralistic terms, yet cried out for law enforcement when his adversaries used the same tactic.
- Nixon attends the King funeral. His reception.
- The author examines King's doctrine of non-violence, finds in it the very seeds of the violence that predictably followed each new King campaign.
- Tragic dilemma for millions of Negro moderates.
- The special danger to minorities in Martin Luther King's philosophy, as explained by Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker.
- Governor Agnew gives stern lecture to Negro community leaders. "Moderates" walk out.
- Selma march produces nothing for local Negroes, but saves SCLC from probable bankruptcy. The joy of Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy: "We're going to have our first million-dollar year."
- Friendly biographer admits that King sent aides "to Birmingham to secretly recruit workers and to lay the groundwork for a crisis" because he needed a political victory.
- Chicago swelters as King leads 3-mile march on City Hall . . . in an air-cooled car.
- Embarrassing statistics for civil-righters: Lowest percentage of job-skilled Negroes to be found anywhere in the nation is in Brooklyn, in a state bristling with fair-employment laws. (Negro employment in building trades runs as high as 40% in Southern cities.)
- Analyses of King's theory of "nonviolence" by leading psychiatrists and attorneys.

"After the assassination much was said about the legacy he left his country. Some called it a legacy of love. Some called it a legacy of peace. For myself, I am perfectly willing to grant his brilliance, his basic sincerity, his charismatic effect upon perhaps hundreds of thousands of Americans – and still regretfully conclude that primarily Martin Luther King left his country a legacy of lawlessness."

– Lionel Lokos

HOUSE DIVIDED:
The Life and Legacy of MARTIN LUTHER KING

by Lionel Lokos

WE SHARE THE HORROR felt by every decent American at the violence that cut down Martin Luther King. But the tragedy is only compounded when history is rewritten to make the victim a martyr; even, blasphemously, a latter-day Christ. And that is what we are getting from the dozens of "assassination books" now tumbling off the presses: propaganda posing as history.

There is an even greater danger if we turn away from the truth. Because in the truth about Martin Luther King we can discover where our nation has taken the wrong turns; why race is being pitted against race; and how to right those wrong turns. Despite the tragedy of April 4, Birmingham remains Birmingham, Selma remains Selma, history remains history, facts remain facts. That is why we salute a brave journalist, and are proud to bring you his book on Dr. King . . . a book that disdains to rewrite history.

This is no quickie biography, rushed to the printer to cash in on the emotional shock of the assassination. Lionel Lokos, author of *Hysteria 1964: The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater,* spent nearly two years researching and writing this book. After the assassination he went back to his typewriter to add the climactic chapter, "A Bullet in Memphis."

The scope of this bold book is much broader than the life of one man. This is the story of a decade of discontent: the Montgomery bus boycott which launched Dr. King; Birmingham and Selma; several campaigns the civil-rights movement would like to forget, with the author's illuminating analysis of why certain communities were *not* overcome by King's "loving confrontations." Here too are careful accounts of the rise of Black Power, and Stokely Carmichael's sudden prominence; of riots in Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit and hundreds of other American communities; of King's attempts to merge the civil-rights and anti-Vietnam-war movements; of his political love affair with Ho Chi Minh; of the guerrilla warfare that is raking our cities.

Risk-Free Examination

Though clearly no idolator of Dr. King, Lionel Lokos is no racist either. He writes not in a spirit of hatred, or even anger, but rather in sorrow at the tragedy that has fallen upon this nation because of false counsel.

HOUSE DIVIDED is a responsible book that dares to swim against the tide. Send for a copy on risk-free examination. If not well pleased, you may return it within 30 days of delivery, and receive a refund in full plus *extra cash* to cover return postage. Mail coupon with $6.95 to your bookseller or: Arlington House, Publishers, 81 Centre Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801.

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